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Number 5

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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Modern Language Notes

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POE'S 'TO HELEN'

The following study has a divided aim. My principal interest is in its possible addition of one more example of those poems, like Rossetti's 'The Stream's Secret,' in which two women have sat for a kind of composite portrait, or at least in which the poet has for his artistic ends written ostensibly about one woman and mixed his colors partly from his imagination (as one would expect) and partly from the memory of another woman. Painters are known to have used more than one model for a picture; it is not so commonly understood that a poet may do the same. The Poe interest, however, is rather different. Here we have if not a contribution to ignorance, still a re-emphasis of uncertainty. For Poe has not been well served by his biographers; the record is crisscrossed with inaccuracy; sentimentalizing admirers, romanticizing partisans, and too eager amateurs have confused the drawing; even the careful efforts of Professor Quinn have not removed all the difficulties.

The stanzas now familiar under the title of 'To Helen' are regularly said to have been inspired by Mrs Jane Stith Stanard, the mother of Poe's school friend, Robert Craig Stanard. The principal evidence for this belief is in Poe's letter to Mrs Whitman: "and then the lines I had written, in my passionate boyhood to the first, purely ideal love of my soul—Helen Stannard of whom I told you . . ."¹ Now poets are not always trustworthy witnesses

¹ *The Last Letters of Edgar Allan Poe to Sarah Helen Whitman*, ed. James A. Harrison, New York, 1909, pp. 9 f. This is really Poe's first letter to Mrs Whitman, and is so indicated, p. 5. It is dated "Fordham, Sunday night, Oct. 1, 1848." In the Virginia Edition, *Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. James A. Harrison, New York, [1902], xvii, 292 ff., where part of the letter is printed, it is said to be "Undated."—A little earlier

about their own works; one would hardly think of Poe as an exception; and yet Poe's statement about Mrs Stanard and 'To Helen' has been accepted, with an occasional reservation concerning the date, by all Poe students.

Opinion is divided as to how well Poe knew Mrs Stanard. Woodberry says bluntly: "He saw this lady . . . but once. She died April 28, 1924."² But in his note (I, 364) he adds Mrs Clemm's testimony that Poe saw her often. Hervey Allen is very positive on this point: ". . . it is idle to say that Poe met 'Helen' only once."³ The evidence itself is confused. On 10 March 1859 Mrs Whitman wrote to Mrs Clemm: "Edgar told me once about going to her house with Robert. . . . She was very kind to Edgar and when she died suddenly, a few weeks after, he felt such sorrow for her death (as he told me) that he used to go every night to the cemetery where she was buried; . . . He told me much that was *very interesting* about his Sorrow on her death, though he had only *once* seen her."⁴ This is Poe's account remembered by Mrs Whitman ten years after his last letter to her, and it is plain from other letters that Mrs Whitman knew nothing about Mrs Stanard except what she heard from Edgar. Nor was Mrs Clemm always a sound witness; for 17 April 1859 Mrs Whitman wrote to her: "What

Poe had written to Mrs Shew: "I place you in *my esteem*—in all solemnity—beside the friend of my boyhood—the mother of my schoolfellow, of whom I told you, and as I have repeated in the poem . . . as the truest, tenderest of this world's most womanly souls, and an angel to my forlorn and darkened nature" (Virginia Edition, XVII, 300). This letter is dated "[June, 1848]"; the omission was probably made by Ingram, from whom Harrison and Woodberry (II, 261-264) take it. Hervey Allen (*Israfel*, New York, 1926, II, 751) adds silently, in round brackets, "*To Helen*" after "poem," but retains the suspension points; in the revised edition, 1934, p. 599, the round brackets are changed to square. There seems to be little doubt however that the poem was 'To Helen' and the lady Mrs Stanard; but one still wonders why the omission was ever made.—The phrase describing Poe's love for her reappears in Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe the Man*, Chicago, 1926, I, 202, as "the 'one idolatrous and purely *ideal love*' of his life."

² George E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, Boston, 1909, I, 29.

³ *Israfel*, I, 108. Cf. also p. 107: "That there were many visits to her house during the course of several years, and not one only, as has been so often stated, is certain." For Allen's 'sources' cf. pp. 106 ff.

⁴ *Edgar Allan Poe Letters and Documents in the Enoch Pratt Free Library*, ed. Arthur Quinn and Richard H. Hart, New York, 1941, p. 42; also Virginia Edition, XVII, 422.

you tell me of Mrs Stannard perplexes me—If she died only 26 years ago, Edgar . . . would have been 22 years old—Yet I *so well remember* that he described to me his sorrow at hearing of her death while in *school*, & told me of his solitary visits to the cemetery.”⁵ As I see it, if Mrs. Stanard had died twenty-six years before 1859, Poe would have been at the time of her death twenty-four years old. But actually Mrs Stanard had been dead thirty-five years in 1859; and actually Poe was fifteen years old at the time of her death.⁶ But if, as Woodberry says,⁷ “The last two years of her life Mrs. Stanard led secluded in her family,” then the *once* Poe would have been likely to see her must have been in his thirteenth year. Perhaps a compromise position, harmonizing the apparently conflicting evidence, is to be found in Mrs Clemm’s reply, 14 April 1859: “When Eddie was unhappy at home (which was often the case), he went to her for sympathy, and she always consoled and comforted him,—you are mistaken when you say that you believe he saw her but once in her home. He visited there for years, he only saw her once while she was ill. . . . Robert has often told me, of his, and Eddie’s visits to her grave.”⁸ This point is perhaps a small one, but it illustrates the uncertainty of our knowledge.

It is usually assumed that the poem was composed at about this time, 1824, and later revised—for such accomplished verses as the first published text shows would be very unusual from so young a poet. And such may actually have been the case: Poe may have drafted or written a ‘To Helen’ in 1824, a text now lost, which more or less closely resembled the text of 1831; or on the basis of

⁵ *Letters and Documents*, p. 46; Virginia Edition, xvii, 427 f.

⁶ The editors of *Letters and Documents* tell us (p. 45): “In 1859 Mrs. Stanard had been dead for thirty-five years. In 1824 Poe was a boy of fourteen.” This is arithmetically puzzling, for according to the usual reckoning Poe became fifteen years of age in January 1824. He was fourteen between 19 January 1823 and 18 January 1824. Hervey Allen, having told us that Poe visited her house “during the course of several years” (I, 107), confuses us by concluding in a footnote (n. 154; I, 109; revised ed., p. 190): “Hence Poe was about fifteen when he first saw ‘Helen,’ . . .” He was of course fifteen and a little more than three months old *when she died*.

⁷ I, 364; no authority cited.

⁸ *Letters and Documents*, p. 41; from the Lilly Collection.

his memory of Mrs Stanard he may have composed 'To Helen' at some undetermined time between 1824 and 1830. Professor Campbell (following orthodox arithmetic) says: "The poem was written, so Lowell states in his sketch of Poe,—and this sketch passed through Poe's hands before going to press (see Woodberry, II, p. 103),⁹—when the poet was only fourteen years old, or about a year before Mrs. Stanard's death." But he adds: "This account, however, is hardly to be credited."¹⁰ Nevertheless it must be observed that apart from the unproved inference that Poe gave his tacit approval to Lowell's statement (though it is true of course that Poe could later have denied or corrected Lowell's statement), there is no evidence that Poe wrote 'To Helen' at the age of fourteen; such testimony as we have directly from him—"in my passionate boyhood"; "earliest boyhood"—is very general indeed and in view both of the tone of his letter to Mrs Whitman and of his recognized self-romanticizing is hardly to be taken as a deposition.

Certainly, there was no 'To Helen' in the 'Tamberlane' volume of 1827; nor in the 1829 volume. It appeared first in the *Poems*, "Second Edition," 1831, which contained also the lines:

I could not love except where Death
Was mingling his with Beauty's breath,—
Or Hymen, Time, and Destiny
Were stalking between her and me.

By this date Death and Destiny had robbed him of his foster-mother, Mrs Frances Allan, who died 28 February 1829; and it has been conjectured¹¹ that Mrs Allan contributed something to this poem. In truth, the circumstances are quite as favorable for this conjecture as for Poe's own statement, though it must be

⁹ What Woodberry says is that Poe took a month to acknowledge the receipt of Lowell's "biography." With what care Poe read it—deponent saith not.

¹⁰ *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Killis Campbell, [1917], p. 199. So also A. H. Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe, A Critical Biography*, New York, 1941, pp. 177-178: "That he wrote the poem as he claimed [Preface to the 1845 volume], in his 'earliest boyhood' seems incredible. . . ."

¹¹ By Whitty, quoted in Miss Phillips' *Poe the Man*, I, 326 f.; see n. 1 above. So also Hervey Allen (I, 308): "'Helen' is probably a combination and imaginative synthesis of Jane Stith Stanard and Frances Allan with the abstract longing for the perfect Belovéd common to all young men."

readily admitted that there is little supporting evidence.¹² Poe's silence, it must also be admitted, is not without weight; but Poe had remained 'silent' on the inspiration of the poem for a considerable period, i. e., from its composition in 1824 (?) or its publication in 1831 until his romantic and purposeful letter in 1848 to Mrs Whitman.

There are thus three figures in the background which are to be fused somehow into a lyrical composite. The first, one may suppose, was Mrs Stanard, the moving cause which started the first impulse to write. So we must recapture for a moment the impression she made on the sensitive and often unhappy boy; she was beautiful enough in his eyes to make him think of Homer's Helen—the "Helen of a thousand dreams" (though that phrase came much later)—and to inspire that "first, purely ideal love." Soon after he fell really in love with Sarah Royster; and the rest is another story.

The 'meaning' of the poem is not altogether clear; for rather divergent interpretations have been read into it. And since it cannot be unreservedly accepted that what Poe published in 1831 was really the poem "written . . . to Helen Stannard"; and since it is not unlikely that some feeling for his foster-mother entered into the composition, we are not entitled to press any of the details of the 1831 text to fit Mrs Stanard. Yet all the editors and commentators have done so.¹³ The first two stanzas signify that Mrs Stanard's

¹² Hervey Allen (*Israfel*, I, 128; 1934, p. 105) described the Richmond house into which the Allans moved in 1825: "Poe's room was at the end of a hall that ended in a wedge-shaped alcove just beyond a rather dark twist in the stairs. In this recess, . . . was a table upon which stood an *agate lamp*, always kept burning at night, because of the dark stairs and hall." The italics are Allen's, but Marie Bonaparte, *Edgar Poe*, Paris [1933], I, 75, seems to have been the first to make the connection formally.

¹³ The choice of the name Helen must be attributed to Helen of Troy; at least no evidence has turned up to the contrary, and I have found no indication that Mrs Stanard was ever called Helen except by Poe in the poem. The "hyacinth hair" is an Homeric as well as a Miltonic allusion (*P. L.* IV, 301). (In Poe's story "The Assignation" the epithet seems to suggest *curly*; in "Ligeia" he has the phrase "the Homeric epithet 'hyacinthine'"—apropos of which W. P. Trent remarks: "It is perhaps pedantic to point out that 'hyacinthine' is not, strictly speaking, a Homeric epithet" (*The Raven, The Fall of the House of Usher and Other Poems and Tales*, New Edition, Boston, 1930, p. 25 n.). Would it be pedantic

beauty restored his calm, brought back his better self, and reminded him of his classical studies.¹⁴ The third stanza is more precise and more troublesome. It transports us from the generalized and vague classic setting to the immediate and actual present.

Lo! in that little window-niche

or, ten years later,

Lo! in that shadowy window-niche

and, lastly,

Lo! in yon brilliant window-niche

may well be a realistic but unverifiable detail, a reminiscence of Mrs Stanard. But it is also a palpable reminiscence of Byron (*Childe Harold*, III, xxiii), as pointed out by Campbell and others. Or it may be one of Poe's "Childhood memories of [Mrs Allan], after tucking him in bed, and standing within his dormer-window niche of their early Richmond home, with lamp in hand. . . ." ¹⁵ And the agate lamp certainly suggests Mrs Allan, but it is a late comer. Not only in 1831, but also in 1836 and in 1841, the line read

The folded scroll within thy hand!

This has been conjectured to represent, poetically, a copy of some

to point out that Homer speaks of *κέμας ὑακινθίνῳ ἀρθει δημολας* (*Od.* vi, 231)? "Classic face" and "Naiad airs" are of the same pattern: too general to suggest portraiture. (If Mrs Stanard resembled her son Robert, she certainly did not have a classic profile: cf. the portrait in Caroline Ticknor, *Poe's Helen*, New York, 1916, facing p. 90. The pictures of Mrs. Allan however more nearly fit the adjective.) The "Nicéan barks" have troubled all editors. "Naiad airs" hints at some connection with the Naiad Nikaea, beloved unsuccessfully by the shepherd Hymnos and later overcome, treacherously, by Dionysus himself. This would relate the barks to the Bithynian city (which was not on the Black Sea, but had a connecting waterway) and in some sense to Dionysus. But how Poe knew about Nikaea is still a mystery. A plausible association in Poe's mind with Catullus' Bithynian journey has been brought forward (*American Literature* II (1931), 433-438), which would add piquancy to the verses but throw no light on the personal equations.

¹⁴ For a more recondite interpretation see Quinn, p. 178. Mme Bonaparte suggests (I, 28) that the first stanzas may contain a memory of Poe's sight of the Elgin Marbles in London.

¹⁵ Mary E. Phillips, *op. cit.*, I, 326 f., where the passage is introduced by "Mr. Gatty adds."

early verses of Poe's given to Mrs Stanard; but the conjecture is purely gratuitous. Professor Mabbott understands, more simply: "probably Mrs. Stanard standing on the staircase, holding a letter or paper."¹⁶ But need it have been Mrs Stanard; and where did Professor Mabbott find the *staircase*? Finally, the "Psyche" and "Holy Land" are in odd conjunction. The former reverts to the classical tone, and is in harmony with Poe's later description of Mrs Stanard as the "purely ideal love" of his soul. Professor Quinn opines—surprisingly—that "The 'regions which are Holy Land' [sic] may refer to Greece and Rome, or"—more reasonably—"to the surroundings of Mrs Stanard, who was to him a sacred presence"; and even more reasonably, one may add, they may refer to the surroundings of his foster-mother.¹⁷

At all events, it is a tenable hypothesis (but no more) that *in the first instance* 'To Helen' was written to Mrs Stanard. The poet said so, anyway. It is also a tenable hypothesis that with her was blended in Poe's memory and imagination when he revised the original verses for publication in 1831 the figure of his beloved foster-mother, Mrs Allan. (The agate lamp, in 1845, is nearly conclusive, if we may trust Hervey Allen's record.) What, moreover, is curious and unusual in this example of composite inspiration is the entrance *ex post facto* of another figure. Poe's use of 'To Helen' as an oblique introduction to Mrs Sarah Helen Whitman is a matter of familiar knowledge. The early verses "expressed all," he wrote to Mrs Whitman in that long delirious letter of 1 October 1848—

all that I would have said to you—so fully—so accurately—and so conclusively, that a thrill of intense superstition ran at once through my frame.

. . . Think of the absolute appositeness with which they fulfilled that need—expressing not only all that I would have said of your person, but all that of which I most wished to assure you, in the lines commencing "On desperate seas long wont to roam." Think, too, of the rare agreement of name . . . and you will no longer wonder that . . . they wore an air of positive miracle.

¹⁶ *Selected Poems*, New York, 1928, p. 122.

¹⁷ It is not impossible, with due hesitation, and with complete divorce from the idealizing spirit, to give the last line an erotic interpretation. The whole poem would thus become—what in fact it appears to be—a love lyric *pure et simple*. Mme Bonaparte, though an avowed Freudian, has apparently missed this opportunity.

It was indeed a miracle in reverse. The case was in one respect similar to that sort of unconscious prophecy which has been noted in some of Rossetti's early verses and in fact may well occur at any time to others—such is the limited variety of emotions and situations in our ordinary lives. But Poe used it deliberately, and passionately, to make capital of the past for present purposes. In that excited and extravagant letter, parts of which would have made Werther blush, Poe grasped at the straw of coincidence, and, alleging "the Calculus of Probabilities," turned back to his 'boyhood's' half-imagined Helen (who was twice his age) to plead his cause with the actual Sarah Helen (who was six years his senior).¹⁸ And Poe was the first to point to what in 1824, if the line was written then, had been a childish, or Byronic, exaggeration, and in 1831 something of a reality,

On desperate seas long wont to roam,

and now, in 1848, had become both a warning and a plea for succor. Thus Mrs Whitman has become "Poe's Helen"—there is a touch of comic irony in Miss Ticknor's title—and the Nicéan barks have come a long journey.

These barks may have brought little with them besides the weary wanderer; but he has seen some strange things and amusing; not new but newly seen—among them the vagaries of pseudo-scholarship. Poe's statement, so long after the event, that 'To Helen' was inspired by "Helen Stannard" must be received with some reservation; that it was composed when he was fourteen years old can hardly be accepted in any real sense. That he was impressed by Mrs Stanard's kindly treatment of him as her son's playmate may be readily admitted, though the external evidence is unfortunately conflicting; it may even be supposed that he wrote or began to write some verses in her honor, giving her the classic-romantic name of Helen and recording, quite truthfully, the comforting influence she had been to his boyish sorrows. But the third stanza seems more likely to have been inspired by the memory of his foster-mother and therefore to have been composed in 1829-1830 or just

¹⁸ "He seemed to connect me strangely," said Mrs Whitman, "with his memories of Helen Stanard and often declared to me that he had known and loved me ages ago. . . . I believe that the spirit of her who bore this beloved name, has always hovered around him, and that it was in some way through *her* influence that he was drawn to me" (*Poe's Helen*, p. 88).

before the publication of the poem. Many readers must have felt a difference in tone between the first two and the last stanzas, not great enough to be disturbing but nevertheless noticeable.

The most interesting result of this voyage, however, though it rests on a plausible hypothesis only, and cannot be proved—is the light thrown on the poetic process. A beautiful love lyric which to all appearance is a disillusioned *cri du cœur* turns out to have originated in a boyhood idealization of the mother of the poet's playfellow, combined with literary reminiscences and with the poignant memory of the poet's foster-mother. That these three are successfully fused cannot be questioned, but the ingredients are certainly unusual and would hardly have been suspected without the vague clues lurking in a set of ambiguous reports.

PAULL F. BAUM

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AN ECHO FROM THE SPANISH TRAGEDY

No play in the Elizabethan-Jacobean repertory was more frequently revived or more ubiquitously echoed or more continually parodied than Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. "O eyes, no eyes . . ." "I was a courtier . . ." "Go by, Jeronimo!" These catch-lines, with the more sophisticated playwrights of the next decade, became bywords for the operatic and conceited rhetoric of the 'eighties. New scenes, ringing the changes on Jeronimo's lamentations, were added by other hands in the more expressive styles that had meanwhile developed.¹ To express madness, Marlowe had abandoned the formality of blank verse and introduced a kind of distracted prose.² The additions printed in the quartos of 1602 and subsequent years, following this convention, lit the old baroque night-piece with flashes worthy of Kyd's contemporary, El Greco.

The most noteworthy addition, the so-called "painter's scene," has been linked with an anecdote which Vasari narrates about

¹ This change in tone is attributed to the difference between a reading version and an acting version, by L. L. Schücking, "The *Spanish Tragedy* Additions," *TLS* (June 12, 1937), no. 1845, p. 442.

² Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, ed. U. M. Ellis-Fermor, London, 1930, p. 170n.

Luca Signorelli; but though, like the latter, the painter in the play has lost a child, it is not his dead son but Jeronimo's whom he is instructed to paint.³ We need seek no source beyond that basic principle of Elizabethan dramaturgy which utilizes secondary episodes to reinforce the situation of the main plot, *e. g.* the Gloucester underplot of *King Lear*. The dramatic function of the painter is to transpose Kyd's obsessive theme of bereft fatherhood from a verbal to a pictorial medium. Yet pigments are as artificial and inadequate as words to realize the fullness of human suffering. Jeronimo's tirade conveys his emotions by conceding, as it were, their inexpressibility. In depicting himself as Priam of Troy, the legendary pattern of paternal woe, he completes the contrast with *Hamlet*, where the Player's speech evokes the maternal figure of Hecuba. In both cases, as in *The Duchess of Malfi*, character is portrayed as a "picture in a gallery."⁴

Now, though the painter's scene stands out from its context in *The Spanish Tragedy*, it bears a curious resemblance to two episodes in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, one of them not heretofore discussed. Here it is Balurdo the clown, at the beginning of the fifth act, who confronts a painter and commissions him to paint a device, "a good fat leg of ewe mutton, swimming in stewed broth of plums." *Inter alia*, he asks (1, 2, 29, 30):⁵

And are you a painter? sir, can you draw, can you draw? . . . Can you
paint me a driveling reeling song, and let the word be, Uh.

And the painter, protesting that he cannot make canvas sing,
replies (33, 34):

It cannot be done, sir, but by a seeming kind of drunkenness.

This courts comparison with Jeronimo's questions (108, 109,
120):⁶

³ Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, ed. J[osef] Schick, London, 1898, p. 142. This anecdote has a peculiar literary history of its own, having inspired poems by both Graf von Platen and J. A. Symonds.

⁴ Pictures as a means of self-dramatization are instanced in M. C. Bradbrook, *Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1935, pp. 133, 134.

⁵ John Marston, *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen, Boston, 1887, I, 76, 77. Line references are indicated above between parentheses.

⁶ Thomas Kyd, *Works*, ed. F. S. Boas, Oxford, 1901, pp. 65-69.

Art a Painter? canst paint me a teare or a wound, a groan or a sigh? canst paint me such a tree as this? . . . Canst paint a dolefull cry?

and Bazardo's answer, that he can by a kind of optical illusion (121):

Seemingly, sir.

The key that Marston strikes is characteristically ribald and discordant; but his clown is burlesquing a more doleful strain which has been sounded in the immediately previous scene. There his protagonist literally sought to transpose his emotion into song. Where Jeronimo tells his painter to "shew a passion" (146), Antonio tells his page (iv, i, 134):⁷

Let each note breathe the heart of passion.

Always an extremist, Marston surpasses Jeronimo's "extreame grieve" (14) with Antonio's "extremest grief" (135). Both are scored to the explicit accompaniment of raving and cursing, sighing and groaning. Jeronimo wants to hear "the Belles towling" (139) and to see the landscape connive in a vast pathetic fallacy. Whereas, for Antonio, "The rocks even groan" (146), and the singer is instructed to (136, 137)

speak groaning like a bell
That tolls departing souls.

The servants warn us that Jeronimo, lamenting his son (12, 13),

falls on the earth,
Cryes out: *Horatio*, Where is my *Horatio*?

Whereas Antonio, mourning his lady, threatens to (140, 141)

lie grovelling on the earth,
Straight start up frantic, crying, Mellida!
Sing but, *Antonio hath lost Mellida* . . .

But when the page starts to sing, according to the stage direction, Antonio "breaks" the note (150, 151):

For look thee, boy, my grief that hath no end,
I may begin to plain, but—prithee sing.

So Jeronimo explains to the painter that "there is no end" (152). And so the broken music of *Antonio and Mellida*, like the imagined

⁷ Bullen *op. cit.*, p. 68.

portraiture of *The Spanish Tragedy*, acknowledges that art has more limitations than life.

The quarto of Marston's play appeared in 1602 the year that saw the first printing of the augmented version of Kyd's play. However, it is commonly and plausibly assumed, on the basis of the date attached by Marston's painter to his paintings, that *Antonio and Mellida* was performed in 1599. The assumption that the additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* were written in 1601-2 is based on certain payments by Philip Henslowe to Ben Jonson. But critical and scholarly authorities have united, on the basis of internal and external evidence, to question Jonson's authorship of the extant scenes.⁸ Lamb and Fitzgerald, along with Maurice Castelain, would argue for Webster; Coleridge entertains the notion of Shakespeare; while C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson refuse to accept these passages for the author whose works they have served so admirably.⁹ Furthermore, Henslowe's diary seems to indicate that previous interpolations had been made in 1597.¹⁰

By accepting this date for the composition of the painter's scene, we preserve what seems to be a demonstrable relationship between the two plays.¹¹ The only logical alternative is the inference that what Jonson added in 1601 was an imitation of what Marston had written in 1599—or else the not very plausible conjecture that Marston was also the author of the additions.¹² His other works leave us with the slightly bewildered impression of an ingenious but derivative talent, a chameleon-like inclination toward *pastiche*.

⁸ Boas, *op. cit.*, lxxxvii. Cf. W. W. Greg's edition (*Malone Society Reprints*), Oxford, 1925, pp. xviii-xix.

⁹ Ben Jonson, Oxford, 1925, II, 237 ff.

¹⁰ E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Oxford, 1923, III, 396. Chambers elsewhere begs this question (p. 430), though, in the very next sentence, he mentions Marston's borrowing of a device from *Poetaster* (1601).

¹¹ This identification is supported by the recent and thorough survey of L. L. Schücking, "Die Zusätze zur *Spanish Tragedy*," Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig (Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1938), xc, ii, 34-37. On the question of authorship, Professor Schücking's last word is "vorläufig unlösbar."

¹² The pros and contras of Marston's priority are argued by R. A. Small, *The Stage Quarrel between Ben Jonson and the So-called Poetasters*, Breslau, 1899, pp. 92-93, and Friedrich Radebrecht, *Shakespeares Abhängigkeit von John Marston*, Cöthen, 1918, pp. 36-38.

We know he imitated Marlowe and Chapman in *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image*, Donne and Hall in *The Scourge of Villany*, Jonson in *Satiromastix* and *Sophonisba*, and Kyd in *Antonio's Revenge*.¹³ That he is imitating Kyd's interpolator in *Antonio and Mellida* seems likelier than the converse; the clown's burlesque presupposes some serious treatment, and Antonio's lament sounds like the echo of a more spontaneous plaint.

Nor do the reverberations end at this point. A decade later we find Beaumont and Fletcher employing the same techniques, again in visual terms, to portray the jilted Aspasia in *The Maid's Tragedy*. She too names classical prototypes for her extreme grief: Oenone, Dido (ii, ii). And when the needlework of the ladies-in-waiting opportunely presents the story of Theseus and Ariadne, she identifies herself with the deserted heroine (63-66):¹⁴

These colours are not dull and pale enough
To shew a soule so full of misery
As this sad ladies. Doe it by me,
Do it againe by me, the lost Aspatia. . . .

She poses for them against the bleak setting of the island, "Like Sorrows monument," and her statuesque calm contrasts strikingly with the frenetic ranting of her predecessors, Jeronimo and Antonio (74-77):¹⁵

. . . and the trees about me,
Let them be dry and leaveless; let the rocks
Groane with continual surges; and behind me,
Make all a desolation.

A process of refinement, as well as attribution, has been at work here. The result, instead of showing or breathing passion, exhibits

¹³ The crucial example, of course, is his imitation of *Hamlet* in *The Malcontent*, which is generally dated 1604 (Chambers, *op. cit.*, III, 432). In the interests of his familiar hypothesis that Shakespeare was always a borrower and never a lender, an earlier dating is preferred by E. E. Stoll, "The Date of *The Malcontent*," *Review of English Studies* (January, 1935), XI, 42-50.

¹⁴ Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Maid's Tragedy and Philaster*, ed. A. H. Thorndike, Boston, 1906, p. 48.

¹⁵ These lines provide T. S. Eliot with the epigraph for his "Sweeney Erect," a modern example of a poetic convention which—Professor Erwin Panofsky points out—is as ancient as the Anacreontics. Cf. *Anacreon tea*, ed. J. M. Edmonds, London, 1931, pp. 41-45.

pathos. That the protagonist should this time be feminine is likewise characteristic of the newer school of Jacobean dramatists.

Thus the painter's scene,—itself an echo of Jeronimo's original sorrows—having been caricatured with mixed emotions by Marston, is reduced to a neat formula by Beaumont and Fletcher. These three transpositions not only invoke different media: painting, music, tapestry. They also catch the respective moods of a fast-changing period: the high pitch of the 'nineties, the self-consciousness of the transition, the polished theatricality of the Stuart court. After the Restoration Waller—who was to adapt *The Maid's Tragedy*—would renew the meaning of *ut pictura poesis*, and give his own *Instructions to a Painter* a political slant. Other poets—possibly Denham—would demonstrate, in a second, third, and fourth set of instructions, how easily panegyric could be turned into satire. Other variations would be played on the relationship of the various arts, from Lessing's *Laokoon* to the synesthetic experiments of the symbolists. Marvell would write, in his *Last Instructions to a Painter*:¹⁶

*Painter adieu, how will [well?] our arts agree;
Poetick Picture, Painted Poetry!*

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UNITY IN THE SECOND SHEPHERDS' TALE

In *The Wakefield Group in the Townley Cycle* Dr. Millicent Carey takes issue with the common opinion that *The Second Shepherds' Tale* lacks unity.¹ Dr. Carey, however, fails to advance a most striking argument to support her view.

The artist who wrote the play most certainly was familiar with the medieval theory that a given text might have several senses at one and the same time. This theory, at least in so far as Holy Writ is concerned, persisted in England in the fourteenth century at the time when the Townley Cycle was written. It is explained as follows in the *General Prologue* to the Wycliffite Bible:²

¹⁶ *Poems and Letters*, ed. H. M. Margoliouth, Oxford, 1927, I, 164.

¹ Millicent Carey, *The Wakefield Group in the Townley Cycle*, Baltimore, 1926, p. 236.

² *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the*

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But it is to wite, that holy scripture bath iiiij vndirstondingis; literal, allegorik, moral, and anagogik. The literal vndirstonding techith the thing don in deede; and literal vndirstonding is ground and foundament of thre goostly vndirstondingis, in so myche as Austyn, in his pistle to Vincent, and othere doctouris seyn, oonly bi the literal vndirstonding a man may argue ajens an aduersarie. Allegorik is a goostly vndirstonding, that techith what thing men owen for to bileeue of Crist either of hooly chirche. Moral is a goostly vndirstonding, that techith men, what vertues thei owen to sue, and what vices thei owen to flee. Anagogik is a goostly vndirstonding, that techith men, what blisse thei schal haue in heuene.

Before the play is said to lack unity it should be assessed at these various levels.

The play possesses unity at all four levels. It is to be found in the persons of the shepherds and in their responses to two contrasted situations. It is an epic unity, achieved by having the same protagonists take part in two adventures. It is the unity of the *Commedia*.

Approaching the play at the literal level, one notes directly that the dramatis personae fall into three groups and that there are three actors in each. When the performance begins we are shortly introduced to the three peripatetic shepherds. (ll. 1-189)³ This group encounters an unholy trio,—Mak, Gillot and a sheep dressed up like a baby. (ll. 190-632) Then the shepherds meet a holy trinity,—the herald angel, the Virgin Mary and the Lamb of God. (ll. 633-754) It is also literally true that Mak is a sinister clown, such a clown as might inspire a Picasso or Roualt, whereas the herald angel commands respect. The slut, Gillot, is a foil to the Virgin. The contrast between the sheep and the Lamb of God, though less sensational, is even more obvious.

If at the literal level the author seeks to please by "the rollicking comedy of the search for the sheep" and a "quiet exquisite adoration scene,"⁴ at the "goostly" levels his purpose is unmistakably to instruct. The effectiveness of having the protagonists react to and comment upon these two situations provides us with a unity which hardly could be achieved in any other way.

Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers; edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall * * * and Sir Frederick Madden, Oxford, 1850, I, 43.

³ Line references are to Dr. S. B. Hemingway's *The Second Shepherds' Play in English Nativity Plays*, Yale Studies in English, XXXVIII, New York, 1900, 189-214.

⁴ Millicent Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

At the "allegorik," or "quid credas," level from the moment of Mak's entrance "in clamide se super vestitutes" we are suddenly aware that these shepherds are no mere hillside innocents. Their immediate response teaches us to believe that Mak is a suspicious character. His mysterious invocation of the "naymes sevyn" of his "lord" (l. 190) might fool a gullible public but it does not overawe them. And since they soon identify him as a notorious sheep stealer, the audience might well believe that his "names" have some reference to the Seven Deadly Sins. The "seuen" mentioned later by the Virgin Mary could, then, be understood not only as a literal statement that God created "all on seuen" days but also an echo which would teach the auditor to remember the Seven Christian Virtues:

The fader of heuen, god omnypotent,
That sett all on seuen, his son has he sent. (ll. 737-8)

Even after his cloak has been snatched away, Mak stupidly persists in his futile deception, demanding "reuerence." (ll. 201-5) But Mak, like the Chester Imp or Screwtape, is ludicrous as well as fearsome, and the second and third shepherds, though both recognize something unholy about this impenitent thief, give us reason to believe that we should be amused, not impressed, by his threat to report them to his "greatt lordyng" (l. 202) "and make you all to thwang." (l. 211)

Having used the shrewd shepherds to teach us that Mak is not to be trusted, the playwright continues to throw out other hints that Mak is of the devil's party. There is Mak's impious prayer before he lies down between the shepherds,

Manus tuas commendo,
ponceio pilato . . . (ll. 266-7)

Next there is the witchcraft by which he seeks to insure that the shepherds will remain asleep while he "borows" one of their "fatt shepe." (ll. 278-295) Still later his wife, Gillot, describes him as

. . . the dewill in a bande,
Syr Gyl (ll. 407-8)

Finally, one of the shepherds wonders whether the child of such a pair has been baptised. (l. 560)

What do the canny shepherds discover about Gillot? In striking

contrast to the Virgin she is apparently guilty of gluttony (l. 240), lechery (l. 237), sloth (l. 236) and covetousness (l. 459). Thus prepared we are not surprised when she also exhibits wrath (ll. 299-304), pride (ll. 339-43) and envy (l. 315).

If we ought to believe that Mak and Gillot are a blend of the fearsome and the foolish, we should also recognize that the herald angel is proclaiming the truth about the birth of Christ. Thus, the Second Shepherd confirms the *Gloria* by telling how Isaiah had prophesied that Jesus would be born of a Virgin:

ffor Isay sayd so,
(Ecce) virgo
Concipiet . . . (ll. 680-2)

And the First Shepherd adds that the patriarchs as well as the prophets had "desyryd to haue seen this chylde that is borne." (l. 693).

Surely it is unnecessary further to describe the reverent attitude of the good shepherds in their encounter with this holy trinity. What is important, is to remember that these men were not gullible rustics who would believe any devilish lies. No, indeed. The testimony of such witnesses should not be lightly dismissed.

At the moral, or "quid agas," level the shepherds provide a similar unity. Notable is the contrast between their boisterous "blanketing" of Mak (ll. 623-32) and their adoration of the Lamb of God (ll. 710-736). Also, after the performance the audience should recollect how their dismay at Mak's crooning out of tune (ll. 476-482) had been contrasted with their reception of the angel's *Gloria* (ll. 647-60); how their discovery of the false child which was a sheep (l. 588 ff.) differed from their conduct in the presence of the Lamb of God (ll. 710-36); how the inhospitable words of Gillot to her unwelcome visitors (ll. 525-38) accorded with the graciousness of the Virgin to them (ll. 737-45); and how the circumstances under which one of the shepherds gave "sex pence" to Mak's foundling (l. 579) differed from those which moved them to offer tributes to the Christ Child (ll. 718; 722; 734). Such recollections, incidentally, would teach us to believe that the devil and all his works are grotesque whereas manifestations of God are infinitely appealing.

At the "anagogik," or "quo tendas," level it is enough to remark how effective it is to have the same shepherds who foreshadow the

torments of hell by their "blanketing" of Mak, react to a glimpse of the beatific vision at the end of the play (ll. 710-754). At this level the restraint of the Wakefield author is altogether admirable in an age which was accustomed to see Hell's mouth gaping on the stage and the blisses of heaven inadequately presented in the unlikely raptures of certain representatives of a local guild.

Interpreted at any level but the literal, the protagonists give *The Second Shepherds' Tale* a striking unity. To call the Mak story a satire on the Nativity is almost perverse⁵ and to call it "a subtle foreshadowing of the scene in the stable,"⁶ litotes.

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TWO IRREGULAR CHAUCERIAN STANZAS

In Chaucer's early poem, *An A. B. C.*—possibly the earliest he ever wrote—occurs the following stanza:

- | | |
|----|--|
| 34 | Ever hath myn hope of refut been in thee, |
| 35 | For heer-biforn ful ofte, in many a wyse, |
| 36 | Hast thou to misericorde receyved me. |
| 37 | But mercy, lady, at the grete assyse, |
| 38 | Whan we shul come bifore the hye justyse! |
| 39 | So litel fruit shal thanne in me be founde, |
| 40 | That, but thou er that day me wel chastysse, |
| | 41 Of verrey right my werk me wol confounde. |

All recent editors agree in giving the text thus;¹ yet most of the manuscripts offer a different version of the next-to-the-last line, to wit:

That but thou er that day correcte me.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 184.

⁶ Gordon Crosse, *The Religious Drama*, London, 1913, p. 66.

¹ Skeat and Koch print it so, word for word; the Globe editor and Robinson read "wol me" in the last line. (W. W. Skeat [ed.], *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1899, I; J. Koch [ed.], *Geoffrey Chaucer's Kleinere Dichtungen*, Heidelberg, 1928; A. W. Pollard et al. [edd.—H. Frank Heath edited the Minor Poems], *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, London, 1910—the Globe edition; F. N. Robinson [ed.], *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Boston, etc., 1933. My quotations are from Skeat's text.)

This variant is unanimously rejected by the editors because it destroys the rhyme scheme of the stanza, turning it into *ababbacac*, instead of the regular *ababbcbc* in which the other twenty-two stanzas of the poem are written. Since it hardly seems likely that Chaucer would deviate from his rhyme scheme in this erratic fashion, the editors seem justified, at first blush, in preferring the reading which preserves the regular pattern.

Yet one begins to wonder as one examines the textual evidence. *An A. B. C.* is extant in fourteen manuscripts, which fall into two large groups and numerous subgroups, as follows:²

$a \left\{ \begin{array}{l} F \\ B \\ H^1 \\ Pb \\ Pe \\ Gg \\ Sp \\ H^2 \end{array} \right.$ $b \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Ff \\ G \\ J \\ L \\ S \\ A \end{array} \right.$	That but thou er that day me chastyse Bot thou ar that daye correcte my folise That but thou er that day me wel chastyse That bote thou or that day me chastice
---	--

The ten manuscripts above for which no reading is noted give the line uniformly as

That but thou er that day correcte me.

Only four manuscripts—Ff J S A—give the required regular rhyme, three of these with lines which cannot be made to scan

² For the relationships of the manuscripts, see Koch, *Anglia*, iv, b., 100, and his edition, p. 20; Skeat, i, 61; Globe, pp. xxxiv-xxxv; Robinson, p. 1034. MS. H², which I have put tentatively with the *a* manuscripts, cannot be placed with finality, for it is contaminated. The authorities for *An A. B. C.* are as follows: A (Additional 36983, British Museum), B (Bodley 638, Bodleian), F (Fairfax 16, Bodleian), Ff (Ff. 5. 30, Cambridge University Library), G (Q. 2. 25, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow), Gg (Gg. 4. 27, Cambridge University Library), H¹ (Harley 7578, British Museum, ll. 1-48 only), H² (Harley 2251, British Museum), J (G. 21, St. John's College, Cambridge), L (Laud Misc. 740, Bodleian), Pb and Pe (Pepys 2006, Magdalene College, Cambridge, ll. 1-60 only—two copies of the same sixty lines), S (Arc. L. 40. 2 over E. 44, Sion House, London), and Sp (Speght's second edition, 1602). The texts of all these authorities have been printed in the Chaucer Society Publications, where I have consulted them.

smoothly. Moreover, in Ff the words "me chastyse" are written in over an erasure, "doubtless" (as Skeat admits)³ "of the words 'correcte me.'" And since the word "correcte" appears also in J, it seems clear that the exclusive common ancestor of the sub-groups Ff G J L had the reading "correcte me," which remains in G and L. Obviously, too, the exclusive common ancestor of the eight manuscripts in group *a* read "correcte me." Since, then, "correcte me" is the reading of one of the two main groups, and of one of the two subgroups in the other main group, it must have been the reading of the archetype. Readings ending in "folise" or "chastyse" must be regarded as merely scribal efforts to regularize the rhyme scheme. A critical text demands the irregular reading "correcte me."⁴

An editor is still free, of course, to believe that the archetype contained an error and that therefore one of the scribal emendations should be adopted. But the meaning of the line seems to favor the reading "correcte me" rather than "me wel chastyse." Chaucer is praying the Virgin for mercy against the day of judgment: on that day his works will be found so unacceptable (unless before then the Virgin *corrects* him) that he will be lost. Correction—that is, improvement—in him and his works is what is needed, not chastisement. The sense is better with the irregular rhyme.

A final reason for believing that the irregular rhyme of the stanza is due to Chaucer himself is that in one other poem, written in precisely this same metre and rhyme scheme, he commits precisely the same irregularity. The sixth stanza of *The Former Age* runs as follows:

Yit were no paleis-chaumbres, ne non halles;
42 In caves and [in] wodes softe and swete
Slepten this blissed folk with-oute walles,

³ Skeat, I, 454.

⁴ There is, of course, nothing un-Chaucerian in the resulting identical rhyme between "receyved me" (l. 35) and "correcte me." On the contrary, the device was common both in the French poets whom Chaucer was imitating and in Chaucer himself. Indeed, Chaucer not infrequently employed identical rhymes in this very stanzaic form, at least a half-dozen of them involving the rhyme of the penultimate line, as in "correcte me" (see the following rhymes in the *Monk's Tale*: "wight," ll. 3457-59; "tweye," ll. 3542-47; "two," ll. 3640-43; "doun," ll. 3654-59; "reed," ll. 3734-39; "he," ll. 3904-07).

- 44 On gras or leves in parfit quiete.
 No doun of fetheres, ne no bleched shete
 46 Was kid to hem, but in seurtee they slepte;
 Hir hertes were al oon, with-oute galles,
 48 Everich of hem his feith to other kepte.

The reading "with-oute galles" (l. 47) yields the same irregular rhyme scheme (*ababbacac*) as the reading "correcte me" does in *An A. B. C.*; and there can be no doubt that the irregularity here is genuinely Chaucerian, for the manuscripts⁵ are unanimous.⁶

The reason why Chaucer fell into this irregularity in two of the 135 stanzas that he wrote in this form⁷ may only be conjectured. In each instance he may have made a careless slip, or he may have discovered, in composing, that the irregular rhyme came easily, and so set it down with light unconcern over the resulting inconsistency in stanzaic pattern.⁸ Certainly had he noticed the irregularity, and cared to correct it, he could have done so with the utmost ease, despite the "scarsitee" of "rym in English"!⁹ Anyone capable of such *tours de force* as *Fortune*, *The Complaint of Venus*, the balade *To Rosemounde*, and the envoy of the *Clerk's Tale* could not have suffered too great "penaunce" in the comparatively easy rhyming of *An A. B. C.* and *The Former Age*.

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⁵ We have only two, both at Cambridge University Library: Hh. 4. 12 and Ii. 3. 21.

⁶ There is this further similarity between *An A. B. C.* and *The Former Age*: both poems are translations—the former from Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, the latter from Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*, Bk. ii, Metre 6. Unfortunately, Chaucer handles both originals so freely in the passages involved ("correcte me" and "with-oute galles") that it is impossible to get any evidence based on closeness to the original.

⁷ *An A. B. C.*, *To Rosemounde*, *The Former Age*, *Fortune*, *Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton*, and the *Monk's Tale*. Skeat is inaccurate in classifying the *Complaint of Venus* under this stanzaic form (its scheme is *ababbccb*), i, lxii-lxiii; he repeats the inaccuracy at i, 61 and vi, lix.

⁸ A chief feature of the *ababbebc* rhyme scheme is the interlocking repetition in the second quatrain of one of the rhymes from the first, and this feature is preserved just as readily by an *a* rhyme in the penultimate line as by a *b*. Moreover, when an *a* rhyme is substituted for the *b*, an artistically finished stanza results, with no unrhymed lines hanging in air. There was no reason for Chancer's artistic sense to be offended by a stanza rhyming *ababbacac*; only consistency of stanzaic pattern was being violated.

⁹ See the envoy of the *Complaint of Venus*.

A NOTE ON THE RHYTHM OF BEOWULF

Professor Pope, in his excellent study of the rhythms of *Beowulf*, finds two obstacles to an acceptance of Heusler's system of notation, the less important of which deals with tempo:

If we take the implications of Heusler's 4/4 notation seriously, we shall find ourselves embarrassed by the slow pace at which the normal verses must be read. Experiments with watch and metronome alike have convinced me that these admittedly quadruple measures ought to be called 2/4 (or more exactly 4/8), not 4/4. In the normal lines of *Beowulf*, I read between 50 and 70 measures in a minute. This means that, if we call the time 4/8, there will be between 100 and 140 quarter-notes to the minute—about the same number that we find in musical compositions of medium tempo. A 4/4 notation for the same reading would give between 200 and 280 quarter-notes to the minute, a range of tempos well beyond the bounds of those ordinarily employed by musicians. Doubtless one cannot dogmatize about the pace at which the old poetry was read. Thus, although fifty measures to the minute is as slow a pace as I can set without feeling that the longer syllables are being held beyond endurance, a still closer approach to song than my own reading might make still slower tempos endurable. But surely not a tempo twice as slow! ¹

To take exception to this, which Professor Pope himself labels "comparatively unimportant," is perhaps to quibble, but one feels that his treatment of it is extremely confusing, if not downright incorrect.

The confusion arises from the implication that a change in notation from 4/4 to 4/8 will result in a changed (i. e., faster) tempo. That such is not the case is readily apparent: If we set a metronome at 120 and count out ten measures of 4/4 music by its beat we will find that they take up 20 seconds; if, without changing the metronome setting (or *tempo*), we alter the notation to 4/8 and time the same ten measures, we learn that they still need 20 seconds.

It may be convenient to record faster tempos in notes of lower denomination, but to imply that these notes cause the faster tempo is to reverse cause and effect. The fact is that Professor Pope reads between 50 and 70 four-beat measures per minute, which will thus

¹ John Collins Pope, *The Rhythm of Beowulf* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), pp. 26 f.

be 200 to 280 beats per minute—this tempo will remain constant whether the separate beats are designated by quarter-notes, eighth-notes, half-notes, or, as in Heusler, by non-musical symbols.

That Professor Pope recognized this is indicated by his statements: “the eighth-note has no absolute duration, only a customary range of durations,” and, “Heusler called the time 4/4, I call it 4/8, but *both readings have virtually the same pace.*”² I find this impossible to reconcile with the paragraph quoted above. I would insist on substituting “exactly” for “virtually.” Professor Pope, however, immediately upon making these statements launches into a discussion of the “so-called hypermetric verses” and is back in the original confusion. He discovers that “4/4 time really belongs to” these verses, and that “as soon as we adopt a 4/8 notation for the normal verses, we discover that” they cannot be included in the same notational scheme with the hypermetric ones. In demonstrating the “truth” of this assertion he again seems to overlook the fact that at a given tempo a sixteenth-note in 4/8 time is exactly equal in duration to an eighth-note in 4/4.

The error lies in the apparent assumption that a given note has an intrinsic time value and thus determines tempo, whereas actually the exact reverse is true: the value in time of any note is determined by the tempo.

The point at issue, it would seem, is one which Professor Pope recognizes but does not clearly state: It is simply that for the normal verses a 4/8 notation is the most convenient, while for the hypermetric ones a 4/4 time proves simpler. There is no *compelling* reason in favor of any notation. One simply consults his ease, and that of his readers.

Therefore, while Professor Pope’s notation is easier to read and, doubtless, more convenient to write, it no more determines the tempo of the reading than does Heusler’s.³

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² *Ibid.*, p. 27. The italics are mine.

³ The error has been given further circulation by Professor Kemp Malone, *A Literary History of England*, ed. Albert C. Baugh (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948), p. 25.

ANGLO-SAXON SPINSTERS AND ANGLO-SAXON
ARCHERS (TWO STEPS TOWARDS A
STUDY IN EXTENSION)

1.

In a recent number of this journal¹ Mr. A. J. A. Waldock makes a convincing effort to explode Edmund Wilson's often-printed theory that *The Turn of the Screw* is "simply a variation on one of Henry James's familiar themes: the frustrated Anglo-Saxon spinster."² The phrase raises questions. What distinguishes "Anglo-Saxon" spinsters from other spinsters? Does being "Anglo-Saxon" make for frustration? For the adjective—and the phrase—Mr. Waldock is indebted to Edmund Wilson rather than to Henry James.³ Not that the novelist was averse from using the term "Anglo-Saxon," in the sense which may be labeled "Malone I,"⁴ for he did use it, albeit more sparingly than one might expect considering his preoccupation with the "Americano-European prospect."⁵ On several occasions the word serves James's com-

¹ *MLN* LXII (1947), 332. See also Lyon N. Richardson, *Henry James* (1941), p. lxxxvi f.

² Edmund Wilson, *Hound and Horn*, VII (1934), 391; *The Triple Thinkers* (New York, 1938), pp. 131-32; *The Question of Henry James*, ed. F. W. Dupee (New York, 1945), p. 167.

³ As early as 1918 J. W. Beach (*The Method of Henry James*, p. 189) varied the phrasal pattern when he referred to "those starved New England spinsters set before us in some of the later stories of James." Earlier (p. 144) Beach observed that in James's typical characters "the psychology is Anglo-Saxon, and what is more, Anglo-Saxon of Concord and Cambridge, Mass."

⁴ See Kemp Malone, "Anglo-Saxon: A Semantic Study," *RES* V (1929), 184.

⁵ Preface to *The Reverberator . . . and Other Tales* (New York Edition, 1908), p. xii. For James "Anglo-Saxon" was apparently synonymous with "Anglo-American." In Lubbock's edition of James's letters "Anglo-Saxon" occurs only half a dozen times, between 1888 and 1909. Before 1888 the concept is expressed by such phrases as "our race" or "of the English race." In 1903 the term still relates to a "human Anglo-Saxonism" (I, 418); not until 1906 does it take on a satirical or disparaging connotation, as in "this unutterable Anglo-Saxon banality" (II, 49; see further II, 99, 138). It is significant that after 1909 and in the "war letters,"

parative purpose. In *The Reverberator*, one of the tales cited by Wilson, James resorts to repetition (for emphasis) in observing what a "true Anglo-Saxon" would have done in the place of the "effusive and appealing and ridiculous and graceful" Frenchman, Gaston Probert.⁶ And in his most successful novel, *Daisy Miller*, the compound appears as an adjective: "The young American, who said nothing, reflected on that depth of Italian subtlety, so strangely opposed to Anglo-Saxon simplicity."⁷ But recent critics⁸ of the novelist appear to have taken over the term more completely than the novelist himself. Stephen Spender⁹ almost paradoxically considers James "the greatest of a line who owe more to an un-English (a Celtic and a Continental) tradition than to the purely Anglo-Saxon one: Joyce, Yeats, Ezra Pound and Eliot." Again "Anglo-Saxon" comes close to having its broadest meaning.¹⁰

where James shows a "passionate loyalty to the cause of the Allies" (II, 381), he never uses the term.—William James, who uses it disparagingly twice in two sentences (Matthiessen, *The James Family* [1947], p. 520) appears to apologize for it when he speaks of Kipling as "the mightiest force in the formation of the 'Anglo-Saxon' character."

⁶ *Ed. cit.*, p. 202. Note Beach's difficulty (p. 142): "while I cannot at all clearly explain what I mean, I feel that [James's] appeal is necessarily limited to the Anglo-Saxon moral sentiment."

⁷ New York Ed. (1909), p. 58. In *Washington Square* (1880) Catherine Sloper grows into "an old maid" and "a kindly maiden aunt" (chapter 32) but James never calls her an "Anglo-Saxon spinster." The nearest approach to the phrase that I have found in James occurs in *The Notebooks* (ed. Matthiessen and Murdock [1947], p. 275) where he outlines the idea for a tale of a "yearning woman . . . with her 'Anglo-Saxon' clinging to the impossible thesis."

⁸ Among them Beach, Van Wyck Brooks, R. P. Blackmur, Louise Bogan, Theodora Bosanquet, Dorothy Bethurum, Frank Moore Colby, Edmund Gosse, F. O. Matthiessen, Philip Rahv, Stuart P. Sherman, Spender, and Glenway Wescott. Lyon Richardson (*op. cit.*, pp. lix, lxxv f.) prefers the adj. "English-American"; Cornelia Kelley (whose *Early Development of Henry James* [Urbana, 1930] is indispensable) tells me that to use the term "Anglo-Saxon" would probably never have occurred to her.

⁹ *The Destructive Element* (Boston, 1936), p. 12; see also p. 199. On the Celtic element in James, who became "the family Anglophile," see Matthiessen, *The James Family*, pp. 4-5, 99, 103, 110, 270, 284-86.

¹⁰ "Anglo-Saxon" novelists like Arnold Bennett seem to prefer the adjective "Teutonic" to express the same contrast: for example, "She loved the French race, but all the practical Teutonic sagacity in her" [rebelled] (*The Old Wives' Tale*, new ed. [New York, 1911], p. 406). In

2.

Professor J. E. Harry¹¹ has distinguished Sophocles' Ajax from the traditional Ajax of Homer—"the sinewy soldier, burly, rude in speech, who is like the Anglo-Saxon warriors that fought under the Black Prince, 'little blest with the soft phrase of peace, with the glib and oily art to speak and purpose not.' " The four-fold borrowing from Shakespeare¹² is amusing when one recalls that the speakers who thus describe themselves were far from being Anglo-Saxon—Othello the Moor and Cordelia the Celtic daughter of a Celtic king. Here indeed the adjective "Anglo-Saxon" appears to combine the "inclusionist" meaning with the "exclusionist" sense (disregarding Othello) of "pre-English"—or, better, "pre-Old-English"!¹³

Shakespeare, whose plays of legendary Britain before the Anglo-Saxon invasions offer a fruitful hunting-ground for collectors of anachronisms, showed a greater consistency. It is noteworthy that in *Cymbeline* and *Lear* the dramatist sedulously avoided reference to "England" and "English." Instead he makes frequent use of the words "Britain," "British," and "Briton";¹⁴ even Lear's fool knows that his country is not England but the Celtic "realm of Albion."¹⁵ But twentieth-century writers show less respect for

stead of "Anglo-Saxons" the solid citizens of the Five Towns are called "Britons." So, too, Galsworthy; see below.

¹¹ *Greek Tragedy* (New York, 1933), I, 99.

¹² *Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 259; *Henry V*, I. ii. 105-110; *Othello*, I. iii. 81-82; *King Lear*, I. i. 227. It is Ulysses in the first of these plays who describes the "sinewy Ajax." Strictly Anglo-Saxon warriors could scarcely have won at Crecy, even under the Black Prince; they could only have marveled at the use of longbows and crossbows.

¹³ See Malone, *art. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.

¹⁴ In the two plays "British" occurs five times, and nowhere else in Shakespeare. Of the 27 occurrences of "Britain" in Shakespeare, 24 are in *Cymbeline*; of the 17 occurrences of "Briton" all are in *Cymbeline*. Nowhere does Shakespeare mention "Anglo-Saxons" or "Angles"; his only "Saxons" (*Henry V*, I. ii. 46, 62) are the heathen race "subdued by Charles the Great." In *Macbeth*, as Kemp Malone has pointed out (*Anglia LV* [1931], 5), Shakespeare "refers often to the English of Saxon times" but calls them simply the English.

¹⁵ *King Lear*, III. ii. 91. In *Cymbeline* (IV. ii. 99, 123, etc.) Shakespeare remembers that London is the Celtic "Lud's town," and that Arveragus, true to his race, should wear "clouted brogues" (IV. ii. 214). Other

racial distinctions, which appear to have been lost in the adjectival melting-pot, without—it may be added—loss to literature or lucidity. Pope Gregory, who learned in the sixth century to associate Englishmen with angels, would not have recognized as an Englishman the patriarch whom Galsworthy would class with Sylvanus Heythorp¹⁶ as “Old English”: “He was that rather rare thing: a pure-blooded Englishman; . . . and it is probable that Norse and British blood were combined in him in a high state of equality. . . . Thus, to the making of him had gone land and sea, the Norseman and the Celt.”¹⁷

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GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND MILTON'S *COMUS*

There occurs in Milton's *Comus*¹ a somewhat unusual example of symbolic incongruity which seems to have escaped special attention. Professor Hughes does, to be sure, notice Milton's dilemma² but can only call attention to it in the midst of his multifarious duties as editor.

Celticisms could be pointed out in both plays: see my “King Lear and the Merlin Tradition,” *MLQ*, vii (1946), 153-74. From a pedantic point of view, Kent's references to Sarum and Camelot and Dover are more convincing on the lips of a third-century Briton than his mention of Anglo-Saxon Lipsbury. There are, of course and of necessity, other anachronisms: in *Cymb.*, III. ii, Posthumus “the Briton reveller” could have landed in Cambria but never at (Scandinavian) Milford Haven, whose Celtic name has not survived. The pedant might object to the Bard's “Albion” as being Gaelic rather than British—or for that matter, to his writing the play in “English” in the first place. Reduced to absurdities of such consistency, great plays would become the “hobgoblins of little minds.”

¹⁶ The hero of both the short story “A Stoic” (1916) and the play “Old English” (1924) was “traditionally of Danish origin, . . . of a family so old that it professed to despise the Conquest” (*Caravan*, p. 40). Was Galsworthy aware that the name “Heythorp” is less “Old English” than an Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian hybrid? Later in the story (p. 83) Heythorp is further called an “old Roman,” a designation fully justified when one considers his “Christian” name!

¹⁷ “A Portrait,” in *Caravan* (New York, 1925), p. 116.

¹ Merritt Y. Hughes ed., *Paradise Regained, The Minor Poems and Sampson Agonistes* (New York, 1937), pp. 216-71. Cited Hughes.

² Hughes, pp. 260-61, note to ll. 825-34.

The incongruity involves the figure of Sabrina, the water-sprite through whose agency Chastity, symbolized in the person of the Lady, triumphs. Historically, Sabrina is, because of her immediate origins, the most unfortunate choice for the role assigned her, that Milton could have made. And Milton knew of these origins quite well. Why then did he assign such a role to Sabrina? I submit that the answer to this question can be perceived, at least in part, by considering the circumstances surrounding the poem's composition. Such a consideration will, in turn, throw light on and furnish an interesting example of, the processes of aesthetic and intellectual discrimination involved in the creative activity of an artist at work.

First then to Sabrina's unfortunate origins and Milton's knowledge of them. Geoffrey of Monmouth³ tells of the capture by the British king Humber of the Germanic princess Astrild while Humber was waging war in Germany. Defeated in battle by Locrin, Humber drowns in the river which bears his name. Locrin instantly falls in love with Astrild even though he has promised to marry Gwendolin, daughter of Corineus, eponymous ruler (*dux*) of Cornwall. Locrin is forced by public opinion to marry Gwendolin but, after the marriage, installs Astrild as his mistress in London where he visits her under the pretext of worshipping in secret (... *fingebat se velle occultam sacrificium diis suis facere*).⁴ This situation continues for seven years, by which time Locrin has by Astrild, a daughter Habren (old Welsh *Hafren*)⁵ and, by Gwendolin, a son, Madan. On the death of his father-in-law Corineus, Locrin deserts Gwendolin and proclaims Astrild his queen. Gwendolin defeats Locrin in battle, where he is killed by a flying arrow. The victorious Gwendolin then causes to be drowned both Astrild and Habren in a river which, to commemorate the name of her rival's daughter, Gwendolin causes to be named Sabrina (... *qui nunc Sabrina dicitur fecitque edictum per totam Britanniam ut flumen nomine puellae vocaretur*).⁶ Surely in light of this tragic history, which Milton knew quite well,

³ Acton Griscom ed., *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (London, 1929), pp. 254-57. Cited *Geoffrey*.

⁴ *Geoffrey*, p. 256.

⁵ Cp. Eilert Ekwall, *English River-Names* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 358-59. Cited *Ekwall*.

⁶ *Geoffrey*, pp. 256-57.

Sabrina, though herself innocent of any wrong-doing, cannot be thought of as having particularly chaste origins, or as being unequivocally suitable for the role she plays in *Comus*.

Milton's awareness of the Sabrina story is confirmed in his *History of Britain*⁷ where he states that "the principal author" (i. e. for early British history) "is well know'n to be Geoffrey of Monmouth."⁸ Indeed Milton's account of Sabrina⁹ is a close paraphrase of that of Geoffrey.¹⁰

How then did Milton come to indulge in the aesthetic and, for so unequivocal a moralist elsewhere, the moral incongruity of choosing as the protectress of chastity the unfortunate Sabrina who, however innocent herself, was nevertheless the child of illicit and unsanctified love? The answer lies in part, in a consideration of the circumstances surrounding the poem.

The immediate occasion of the poem is the inauguration of the highest judicial officer of Wales, one of Britains's Celtic areas. The site of the celebration is in Shropshire, near the Welsh border, at Ludlow Castle on the river Teme which is a tributary¹¹ of the Severn. Having sketched out the framework of his poem Milton, remembering the legendary Welsh material of Geoffrey, decides that the Sabrina story will be quite appropriate in view of the political and geographical circumstances surrounding the production of *Comus*.

But what is to be done about Sabrina's unfortunately unchaste origins? Milton decides that the story is already old and its details, if they were familiar, are by now so insecurely fixed in the popular memory, that he may by skillful manipulation proceed with the Sabrina story. All that is needed are a few deft strokes of the pen to so limn in her portrait, that her innocence and virginity are high-lighted and the less desirable aspects of her immediate origins subdued. How is this to be accomplished?

At least four separate pieces of tactics can be discerned in Milton's solution of this problem. The first of these is to em-

⁷ George Philip Krapp ed., *The History of Britain* (New York, 1932). Cited *History*.

⁸ *History*, p. 6.

⁹ *History*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁰ Geoffrey, pp. 254-57. Cp. *Hughes*, p. 261, note to ll. 825-34 who notes this close agreement.

¹¹ *Ekwall*, p. 398.

phasize Sabrina's innocence and virginity at death. Hence the constant repetition of such epithets as 'gentle Nymph' (l. 824), 'Virgin pure' (l. 826), 'guiltless damsel' (l. 829), etc. Indeed in the 113 lines devoted to Sabrina's part in the poem (i. e. ll. 824-937) such epithets as these just quoted are so numerous as to arouse one's attention. The second tactic is to refer to Gwendolin, the lawful wife of Sabrina's natural father, Locrin, as Sabrina's 'step-dam' (l. 830). This accomplishes two things: the familiar folklore image of the cruel stepmother who capriciously murders her innocent stepdaughter in conjured up, and the real origin of Sabrina is neatly disguised. Next, emphasis is placed on the political respectability of Sabrina's paternal ancestry:

Virgin daughter of Loerine
Sprung of old Anchises' line. (ll. 922-23).

Lastly, we are told of Sabrina that,

She, guiltless damsel, flying the mad pursuit
of her enraged stepdam Guendolen
Commended her fair innocence to the flood. (ll. 829-31).

It is thus implied that Sabrina voluntarily sought death in the Severn to avoid the insane rage¹² of Gwendolin. That Gwendolin murdered Sabrina to rid herself of all trace of her husband Locrin's illicit love for Gwendolin's rival Astrild, is nicely evaded.

Thus, by the exercise of aesthetic and intellectual discrimination, Milton is able to take the figure of Sabrina, as she appears in Geoffrey's legendary Celtic material, and transmute her felicitously, and with consummate art, into the figure he wished to create for the role assigned her in *Comus*. The deftness with which this transmutation is wrought is such that we are hardly aware of it, and it furnishes us with an interesting insight into the processes of artistic, here specifically poetic, re-creation.

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¹² Cp. the 'insania furens' of Geoffrey, p. 256, with 'the fury' of Milton's *History*, p. 15.

THE BAD WEATHER IN A MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM

The famous bad-weather speech of Titania in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*¹ is one of the few passages in Shakespeare which can almost certainly be said to contain direct topical references. So detailed and extended are the allusions to constant rains, ruined crops, and altered seasons in this speech that we can hardly doubt that it had a special significance for Shakespeare and his audience. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the play, or at least this part of it, was written during, or immediately after, a period of unusually bad weather in England. At the very least, we can assert that the play was probably not first produced in a period of normal weather and good harvests. The date of the stretch of bad weather to which Shakespeare seems to be referring in this speech is, then, a matter of some importance in fixing the chronology of his work.

Most scholars have rather confidently associated Titania's remarks with the rainy summer of 1594,² though some have more cautiously stated that they would suit any year from 1594 to 1596.³ And, at first glance, the summer of 1594 seems to fit ideally the necessary conditions. There were heavy rains in May, June, and July, with further heavy rains in September causing floods and wrecking bridges.⁴ In one important respect, however, the weather described in Titania's speech differs from that of 1594. Shakespeare specifically and at some length tells us that the corn rotted in the fields before it ripened:

The ox hath therefore stretch'd his yoke in vain,
The ploughman lost his sweat, and the green corn
Hath rotted ere his youth attain'd a beard . . .⁵

¹ II, i, 81-117.

² See, for example, A. Quiller-Couch and J. Dover Wilson, ed., *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* (New Cambridge Edition, 1924), IX, 95-6, 114; E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930), I, 360; and Peter Alexander, *Shakespeare's Life and Art* (London, 1939), 105.

³ G. L. Kittredge, ed., *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Boston, 1936), 229; Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare* (New York, 1940), 234.

⁴ John Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England* (London, 1598), Ee5v.

⁵ M. N. D., II, i, 93-5.

But Stow tells us that notwithstanding the rains of the previous months, "there followed a faire haruest in the moneth of August . . . [the] dearth happened more by meane of ouermuch transporting by our merchants, than the unseasonablenes of the weather passed."⁶

If the summer of 1594 only partially fits Shakespeare's description, the summer of 1595 does not fit it at all. Somehow, the idea seems to have become established among Shakespearean scholars that the pattern of unseasonable weather set in 1594 continued through 1595. So far as I have been able to discover, however, there is not the slightest bit of evidence to indicate that there was anything strange or abnormal about the weather of the spring and summer of 1595. Stow, who generally goes out of his way to comment on any unusual trick of nature, does not discuss the weather of that year at all. Even more revealing is the language of a royal proclamation of 1596, a year when, as we shall see, the weather was bad beyond all previous Elizabethan experience:

The sellers of Corne, as rich Farmers, and Ingrossers, do pretend to raise the prices by colour of the unseasonableness of this Sommer: yet that being no iust cause to raise the prices of their olde Corne of the last yeeres growth. . . .⁷

According to the government, then, the excuse of unseasonable weather which was used for raising the price of 1596 wheat had no validity for 1595 wheat. The obvious deduction, therefore, is that 1595 was a normal year. If this is so, it is difficult to see how Titania's speech could have been written at any time between the summer of 1595 and that of 1596.

Not only, however, could Titania's speech have been written to describe the disastrous summer of 1596; it fits the weather of that period so perfectly that one is tempted to say it must have been written with the summer of 1596 in mind. The weather of 1596 is described as follows by Stow:

In this moneth of May (as afore) fell continuall raines euery day or night, wherethrough the waters, growne deepe, brake ouer the high wayes, namely betwixt Olford & Stratford the bow, so that market people riding towards London, hardly escaped, but some were drowned. Also towards Lambeth, in the high way, people not on horsebacke were borne on mens backes, or rowed in wherries. . . .

⁶ Stow, *op. cit.*, Ee5v.

⁷ *A Proclamation for the dearth of Corne*. 31 July, 1596. (S. T. C. 8251)

This moneth of June and also the moneth of July, was euery day raine (as afore) more or lesse to the end. . . .

This yeare, like as in the moneth of August, so in September, October, and Nouember fell great raines, wherevpon high waters followed.⁸

That these heavy rains of 1596 were incomparably worse than those of 1594 is shown by the following remarks of William Barlow, in a dedicatory epistle to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated November 9, 1596:

[The dearth in Basil's⁹ time comming of a long drought, ours of neuer ceasing raine; then the heavē being . . . cleare and cloudlesse: but the Skie ouer us . . . lowring and Sunlesse. . . . Yet who so obserued our heauie heauens this present yeare, the like not remembred by any man liuing, by any record remayning, if he fauour of any religion, he cannot ascribe it either to the Climate, or inclination of our Skie, or to the Vicinitie of the sea, but crie out as they did *Exod. 8. 19.* *This is the finger, if not the heauie hand of God.*¹⁰

Another passage in the same volume supplies conclusive evidence that the dearth of 1596 was caused by the rotting of the corn in the fields:

Oft tymes againe it happeneth that the cause of *Dearth* may come by continual Raine, the seede perishing by too much wette: [as it happened this year 1596. in England, wherein God hauing opened his bottles . . . hath made the cloudes which should drop fatnesse . . . to poure downe the moisture of rottennesse . . .] ¹¹

On the basis of the bad-weather allusions in the play, therefore, the fall or winter of 1596 seems the most probable date for the initial production of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. There is nothing, either in the style of the play or in what little other evidence we have concerning its history, to make such a date unlikely. It is possible that the play was written for a noble wedding; but noblemen were married in 1596 as well as in 1594 or 1595. Perhaps, in the light of the evidence discussed in this note, the suggestion¹¹ that the play was written for the double wedding of Lady Elizabeth and Lady Katherine Somerset to Henry Guildford and

⁸ Stow, *op. cit.*, Ff1^r-Ff2^v.

⁹ Ludwig Lavater, *Three Christian Sermons*, tr. by W. Barlow (London, 1596), A3^v-A4^r.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, C7^r (The section in brackets is added by the translator).

¹¹ Burns Martin, "A Midsummer Night's Dream," *T. L. S.*, January 24, 1935.

William Petre on November 8, 1596, should be given more serious consideration than it has yet received.

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OPHELIA'S "NOTHING"

Mr. Eric Partridge, in his *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (London, 1947), has failed to perceive the beautifully apt climax of the "country matters" dialogue in *Hamlet*, III, ii, 119-129. Ophelia's reply to Hamlet's outrageously paronomastic "Do you think I meant country matters?" (adequately explained by Partridge, p. 95, though editors have pretty consistently shied away from pointing out the indelicacy) is, "I think nothing, my lord."

Ham. That's a fair thought to lie between maids' legs.

Oph. What is, my lord?

Ham. Nothing.

Hamlet (or Dick Burbage) might well at this point have made the "nothing" symbol by joining thumb and forefinger, although the gesture is not at all necessary to "get over" the joke: the word itself in this context would, I think, have been sufficient to titillate the quicker wits in the audience.¹ In any event, Ophelia's "You are merry, my lord" indicates that she got the point well enough, though it is doubtful that many modern readers do—even including so perceptive an observer of "country matters" in literature and language as Mr. Eric Partridge.

For Hamlet's *nothing*, a reflection of Ophelia's earlier use of the word, is unquestionably yonic symbolism, a shape-metaphor intended to call to mind the naught, or O, which is elsewhere in Shakespearean, if not in modern, "bawdy" a symbol of *pudendum muliebre*. So understood, the passage takes on a beautiful clarity. "Fair thought" is, of course, a quibble—"happy idea" and "pretty trifle" (*v. NED.* "thought," definition 6), as Professor Dover Wilson has recognized;² "That [*nothing* meaning *puden-*

¹ For *thing* with similarly "broad" meaning, cf. Partridge, *s. v.*

² *Hamlet* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 199. Dover Wilson also got the point of "nothing," as his reference to O with identical meaning in *Rom.*, III, iii, 90, and *Cymb.*, II, v, 17, would indicate. To these he might appositely

lum]'s a fair thought [a pretty trifle] to lie between maids' legs," in addition to the more readily apparent meaning.

Partridge has recognized that there is a wealth of yonic symbolism in Shakespeare. If the Elizabethan meaning of *nothing* and *naught* (*nought*)³ be recognized and added to those "country" references which he glosses, this anatomical localization of sexuality becomes considerably more impressive. There is certainly pudendal suggestiveness in Flute's "A paramour is, God bless us, a thing of naught" (*M. N. D.*, iv, ii, 13-14), which Partridge thinks means no more than "worthless" and "obscene"; but the pun is actually triple-barreled, if *naught* be understood as a sexual reference, as I am convinced it would have been at the Globe. *Naughty* has similar triple paronomasia in Elbow's "This house, if it be not a bawd's house . . . is a naughty house" (*Meas.*, II, i, 77-78). It seems likely also that Cressida's "You smile and mock me, as if I meant naughtily" (*Troil.*, IV, ii, 38) is more indelicate than it first appears. In any case, I think it safe to assume that Shakespeare was perfectly well aware of the "loose" meaning of *nothing* and *naught(y)* in the venereal vernacular of his day, and that the use of these words in the passages cited, and perhaps in others, could not have failed to provoke guffaws from the groundlings and civil leers from the gentles.

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MAUPASSANT'S PARIS ADDRESSES

Maupassant's meteoric rise in letters and his corresponding prosperity as a professional writer are significantly indicated in his successive Paris addresses. There could be no more striking graph of material success than one which began in dingy one-room

have added those to the more obvious synonym *naught* (or *nought*), some of which I shall later cite.

³ Cf. the erotic symbolism of *circle* (*Rom.*, II, i, 24) and *ring* (*M. of V.*, v, i, 307, reminiscent of Hans Carvel's ring). Partridge thinks the sexual circle "physiologically inaccurate" (s. v. "circle," p. 87), but it is no more so than the conventionalized lozenges which carnal-minded moppets used to (and may still) scrawl on walls and fences as a representation of what, following the chaste example of the ending of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, I shall indicate here merely as _____.

quarters on the rue de Moncey and ended in the sumptuous apartment on the rue Boccador.

But these changes in lodgings have more than a sociological import for Maupassant scholars, particularly for those interested in his correspondence. For many of his letters do not bear a complete date; instead, they merely indicate either the day of the week on which they were written, or else the day of a particular month. Since, however, Maupassant frequently wrote on imprinted stationery bearing his Paris address, a knowledge of the dates of his successive addresses becomes of utmost importance to the scholar attempting to clarify a biographical or literary detail in Maupassant's career through his correspondence, much of which still remains unpublished.

A description of Maupassant's various Paris lodgings was given some twenty years ago by an intimate friend of the author of *Boule de Suif*, Léon Fontaine, who was none other than "Petit Bleu" in the famous story, *Mouche*.¹ But the indications relating to the extremely important factor of dates can now be corrected and amplified on the basis of documents which were not available to the authors of that account. The tables given below, prepared by the present writer while at work on a group of unpublished Maupassant letters, should therefore be of considerable utility to workers in the field.

2, rue Moncey : 1871(?) - 1876.

Maupassant was released from the army, following the Franco-Prussian war, in the fall of 1871, and began his duties at the Navy Ministry in Paris in March, 1872. According to the testimony of Léon Fontaine, the small ground-floor room of the rue Moncey constituted Maupassant's first Paris address. There is as yet no clear evidence, however, as to exactly when Maupassant moved into those modest quarters. It seems unlikely that he should have settled in the Montmartre section of the capital when he arrived in Paris before the war, to study law. His published correspondence offers no clues. It contains but eleven letters written before 1875.² Among the several letters written in 1875, we find the only letter in the entire correspondence bearing the rue Moncey address, a letter addressed to Edmond Laporte.³

¹ Petit Bleu and Pierre Borel, "Les Logis de Maupassant," *Nouvelles Littéraires*, 18 janvier, 1930.

² *Chroniques, Etudes, Correspondance de Maupassant*, Paris, Librairie Gründ, 1938, pp. 194-203.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-7.

17, rue Clauzel⁴ : 1876-1881.

According to Léon Fontaine, Maupassant was still living on the rue Moncey when he was transferred from the Navy Ministry to the Ministry of Education. However, the transfer did not occur until 1878; whereas in his published correspondence there are two letters written in 1876 bearing the rue Clauzel address, the first dated November 28, 1876, and the second, December 12, 1876.

Moreover, the 78-page manuscript of a first version of Maupassant's play, *La Comtesse de Rhétune*, on which he was at work in 1876, was sold at the Suzannet sale of 1938. That manuscript bears Maupassant's signature and his address, 17, rue Clauzel.⁵

83, due Dulong : 1881-1884.

Following the success of his first collection of short stories, *La Maison Tellier*, in 1881, Maupassant moved to the more spacious quarters of the rue Dulong.⁶ An undated letter bearing the Dulong address is ascribed by René Dumesnil to 1881.⁷ And although François thinks they moved out on April 3, 1884,⁸ a letter in the correspondence bearing the Dulong address is dated April 16.⁹ Still another letter, bearing the Dulong address but undated, is ascribed by René Dumesnil to May, 1884.¹⁰ The exact date of his next address is now revealed in the hitherto unpublished letter given below.

10, rue Montchanin : 1884-1889.

The following communication, addressed by Maupassant to his cousin Louis Le Poittevin, in whose newly-built house he was to live for five years, establishes the date of his next move. This note, in the present writer's collection, is accompanied by its original envelope, bearing an Etretat postmark with a July 8, 1884 date.

G M

LA GUILLETTE (ETRETAT)

Mon cher Louis,

Je serai à Paris vendredi à 4¹30. Je voudrais bien te voir ce jour-là

⁴ It is unnecessary to enter here into the old and interesting question as to whether Maupassant lived at 17 or 19 rue Clauzel. Even if he did actually live at the latter address, his official address remained 17.

⁵ Catalogue d'éditions originales, de manuscrits et de lettres autographes de Guy de Maupassant, provenant de la bibliothèque de M. le comte de S . . . [uzannet]. Paris, Giraud-Badin, 1938, p. 7.

⁶ Petit Bleu and Pierre Borel, *op. cit.*

⁷ *Op. cit.* in note 2 above, p. 295.

⁸ Souvenirs sur Guy de Maupassant, par François, son valet de chambre (1883-1893). Paris, Plon, 1911, p. 6.

⁹ *Op. cit.* in note 2 above, p. 322.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

même afin de pouvoir apporter le lendemain une partie de mon mobilier; car le tapissier déclare le déménagement impossible le 15 juillet, lendemain de la fête.

Mille tendresses.
Guy¹¹

14, avenue Victor Hugo : 1889-1890.

According to François, whose memory is not always reliable, Maupassant moved into his new quarters on November 20, 1889.¹² There are only two letters in Maupassant's published correspondence which bear this address, neither of which is dated.¹³

24, rue Boccador : 1890-1892.

In a letter to his mother, written in July, 1890, Maupassant says, "Je ne couche pas encore rue Boccador, où on porte, chaque jour, mes meubles. . . . Je m'y installe samedi, mais j'y passe mes journées."¹⁴

In January, 1892, Maupassant's two attempts at suicide led to his internment at Dr. Blanche's asylum in Passy, where he died on July 6, 1893.

ARTINE ARTINIAN

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A PRELIMINARY NOTE ON GOETHE AND ANDRÉ GIDE

In spite of the facile yet unprofound comprehension which has led so many students of the work of André Gide to classify him as a disciple of Nietzsche, or at least to attempt to relegate him to the Nietzschean tradition, a careful observation of the journals of Gide leads one to the conclusion that this universal mentality of the twentieth century owed its primary formation among foreign influences to quite another nineteenth century figure; that is, to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

During the period of Gide's *Journals* and such related works as the *Interviews Imaginaires* from 1889 to the present, out of nearly three hundred and fifty references to German artists, Gide refers directly to Goethe over one hundred twenty times. The range of Gide's interest in German thinkers is almost limitless and covers

¹¹ The envelope is addressed to Monsieur Louis Le Poittevin, 10 rue Montchanin, Paris.

¹² *Op. cit.* in note 8 above, p. 217.

¹³ *Op. cit.* in note 2 above, pp. 374-75.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

university professors, critics, authors, painters and musicians. No phase of German culture is unobserved, at least in some degree, by this extraordinary Frenchman. In the case of Goethe, however, we are in the presence of something much more important than mere observation, as this disproportionate number of references would seem to indicate. It is on Easter Sunday of 1892, when he was twenty-three years old, that Gide makes the first direct reference to Goethe in his *Journal*: ". . . Lu des poésies de Goethe; le *Prométhée*."¹ It is, of course, only in the light of what follows in the next half century that this very abbreviated mention of the great German takes on the profound significance which we can now see it possesses. Between that almost haphazard remark and the last sentence of his *Introduction au Théâtre de Goethe* lies a most revealing series of observations which leave no doubt that the tremendous influence of Goethe upon Gide must yet be investigated. The sentence stands as the culmination of a lifelong admiration for the German poet, and is impressive because it contains what is possibly the most complete tribute one human being can pay to another. "Nous restons reconnaissants à Goethe, car il nous donne le plus bel exemple, à la fois souriant et grave, de ce que sans aucun secours de la Grâce, l'homme, de lui-même peut obtenir."²

One of the determinants of the degree of a writer's interest in another and the consequent possibilities of influential direction as a result of that interest will be the number of aspects under which he is viewed. In this case, we can see that Gide observes Goethe from the most varied points of view. The young Gide, himself tormented by scruples, transfers his own anxiety into speculations concerning the psychology of Goethe:

. . . Disons-nous donc maintenant que le bonheur s'obtient par la suppression des scrupules? Non. Supprimer les scrupules ne suffit pas à rendre heureux; il faut mieux. Mais des scrupules suffisent à nous empêcher le bonheur; les scrupules sont des craintes morales que des préjugés nous préparent. C'est une harmonie non comprise; on croit pouvoir se séparer, aller seul, et aussitôt l'on s'oppose. Un soliste doit jouer dans le sens d'orchestre. (A. étudier.) Ames scrupuleuses, âmes timorées et qui

¹ Gide, André, *Journal* (Americo-Edit) 4 vols. Rio de Janeiro, 1945. Vol. I, p. 32.

² Gide, André, *Interviews Imaginaires*. Jacques Schrifflin, N. Y. C. (Pantheon) 1943. p. 165.

s'oppriment elles-mêmes; elles auront peur de la joie, comme de l'éblouissement d'une trop éclatante lumière.³

The important matter here is not that a specific work of Goethe is discussed; the important matter is that Gide is already so steeped in Goethe that the German becomes a point of departure for the speculations of the young Frenchman, and that, perhaps unconsciously, Gide is developing an attitude of acceptance or rejection of the evils of life, as he stands upon the shoulders of the sage of Weimar. The cycle of transfer is completed and the speculation has brought Gide, at the conclusion of the passage, back to himself and to his own psychological development.

The mature Gide, himself grown into a figure quite as Olympian as Goethe, observes the boyhood foibles of the German in a remarkable passage from the *Introduction au théâtre de Goethe*. In the passage Gide, while writing of Goethe as a great teacher, throws into clear and pitiless light the egotistical tendencies of the German. The boy Goethe has just been told of the death of his younger brother. "Tiens!" he cries, "regarde tout ce que j'avais déjà écrit pour son éducation."⁴

Gide seldom indulges in a purely literary criticism of Goethe. Indeed, four-fifths of the references to the German are quite general, and concern his philosophy or his life without so much as a mention of a specific work. It is simply that among all the other ambient influences of Gide's life, Goethe stands in a very special relation of spiritual kinship to him. It is to Goethe that Gide makes constant reference as a point of speculative departure. Indeed, in his discussions of other Germans, Goethe is frequently used as a standard of comparison. Gide writes, for example: "Tandis que Hugo trouve satisfaction de son délice verbal à se perdre dans une confusion panique, Goethe, même dans ses effusions les plus lyriques, tend à nous ramener au pratique."⁵

Implicit in all of his remarks is the fact that Goethe stands quite alone, in a very special place, among the influences in Gide's life, and, consequently, in his work. It is not a question of tracing

³ Gide, *Journal*: I. 46. Gide makes this a point of departure for a rather lengthy inquiry into a psychology of resignation and personality development.

⁴ Gide, *Interviews Imaginaires*: p. 130.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

literary minutiae, of tracking down images or themes. It is rather that Goethe becomes for Gide a great example, a wise counsellor and friend. In the *Introduction* Gide writes:

"... Il semble n'être lancé dans la vie que pour cela: 'servir d'exemple à l'univers.' 'Wie ich ein Beispiel gebe'—'que je devienne un exemple': ce sont les dernières paroles qu'il prête à Egmont. Et ce rôle, à lui dévolu, Goethe l'assume avec plénitude, conscience, et une confiance qui se confond très vite avec la croyance en une sorte de fatalité."⁶

Such an influence, wide as broad as it is, must challenge anyone who would completely understand Gide, and there is perhaps no better basis for our feeling that further investigation is in order than Gide's own words: "La grande influence que peut-être j'ai vraiment subie c'est celle de Goethe."⁷

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A PLAGIARISM FROM QUEVEDO'S *SUEÑOS*

The influence of Quevedo's *Sueños* is obvious in many of the long prose works of Francisco Santos (1618-1699?), the Spanish moralist, novelist, and *costumbrista*, and has been pointed out in a general way by all critics who have dealt at any length with Santos. It has been shown that Quevedo's statement concerning a play by his enemy Montalbán: "Dispararon los mosqueteros toda su mosquerería, de modo que la comedia, ya como toro, murió entre silbos, ya como soldado valiente, a mosquetazos" finds an echo in Santos' description of a friend's unsuccessful *comedia*: "En fin su comedia/ como soldado valiente,/ pues a puro mosquetazo/ antes de acabar se muere."¹ No mention has been made, however, of a much more extensive borrowing in Santos' *El Rey Gallo* (1671). Here Santos follows closely the beginning of Quevedo's *Sueño de la muerte* (reprinted in 1629 as *Visita de los chistes*), as the following parallel passages show:

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁷ Gide, *Journal*, III, 109.

¹ J. Calvert Winter, "Notes on the Works of Francisco Santos," *Hispania* (California), Vol. XII (1929), p. 460.

Fueron entrando unos médicos a caballo en unas mulas, que can guadrapas negras parecían tumbas con orejas. El paso era divertido, torpe y desigual . . . ; la vista asquerosa de puro pasear los ojos por orinales y servicios; las bocas emboscadas en barbas, que apenas se las hallara un brazo. . . . Eran éstos en gran número, y rodeados de platicantes, que cursan en lacayos, y, tratando más con las mulas que con los doctores, se gradúan de médicos. . . .

Alrededor venía gran chusma y caterva de boticarios con espátulas desenvainadas y jeringas en ristre, armados de cala en parche, como de punta en blanco . . . y luego ensartan nombres de simples, que parecen invocaciones de demonios: Buphthalmus, opopanax, leontopetalon, tragoríganum. . . . Y sabido que quiere decir tan espantosa barafunda de voces tan llenas de letrones, son zanahoria, rábanos y perejil y otras suciedades. . . .

Luego se seguían los cirujanos cargados de pinzas, tientas, cauterios, tijeras, navajas, sierras, limas, tenazas y lancetones. Entre ellos se oía una voz muy dolorosa a mis oídos, que decía:

— Corta, arranca, asierra, despedaza, pica, punza, ajigota, rebana, descarna y abrasa. . . .

En tanto vinieron unos demonios con unas cadenas de muelas y dientes, haciendo bragueros, y en esto conocí que eran sacamuelas, el oficio más maldito del mundo, pues no sirven sino de despoblar bocas y adelantar la vejez. Estos, con las muelas ajenas y no ver diente, que no quieran ver antes en su collar que en las quijadas, desconfían a las gentes de Santa Polonia. . . . No he tenido peor rato que tuve en

Iban los médicos hechos unas tumbas con orejas, passo divertido, y torpe, como la vista está enseñada a mirar orinales, tan cerrados de bolsa, como otros tiempos de barbas. Iban cercados de practicantes, que más servían de lacayos de las mulas, que de discípulos de doctor.

Seguíanlos los boticarios, cargados de espátulas, y jeringas, calas, y parches, y a cualquiera palabra respondían: Que linda jeringa. Los médicos hablaban un lenguaje medio griego como Rultitacmus, Leon topatum, Trogaricarum; y todo este follage quiere decir rábanos, nabos, y zanahorias.

Seguían los barberos y cirujanos, con sus vihuelas en las manos, guarneidos los vestidos de pinzas, tientas, tixeras, nabajas, sierras, limas, tenazas, y lancetones. Iban con grande algazara, diciendo: Quiebra, arranca, corta, despedaza, abre, asierra, y descarna.

Siguiéronle los sacamuelas, almas de cementerios, o cementerios de huesos. Llevaban al cuello sartas de muelas, y colgajos de quixadas, de bragueros vestidos, anuncio de algebristas, y en las manos unos gatillos. . . .

(*El Rey Gallo*, Valencia, 1694, pp. 126-127)

A PLAGIARISM FROM QUEVEDO'S *SUEÑOS* 331

ver sus gatillos andar tras los
dientes ajenos. . . .

(*Los Sueños, Clásicos Castellanos*,
XXXI, pp. 200-203)

This borrowing is incorporated by Santos into a still longer plagiarism from Gracián's *El Criticón*.²

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PONTUS DE TYARD AND THE QUERELLE DES FEMMES

Pontus de Tyard's role in the perennial sentimental and psychological squabble that broke out with renewed vigor upon the publication of Héroet's *La Parfaicte Amye* in 1542 has apparently escaped notice. His *Erreurs Amoureusees*, mentioned by Abel Le-franc in this connection,¹ was at most an indirect contribution to the defense. He struck a much stronger blow for the beleaguered sex in the *Premier Solitaire*, first published in 1552. In this dialogue, when his lady Pasithée asks why the Muses are females, her mentor gravely replies,

Il est evident que les perfections sont nommées en plus grand nombre femelles que masles, ainsi que la femme est embellie de plus de diverses perfections que l'homme. Donq, entre les autres, estant les vertus et les sciences feminines, il sembloit estre nécessaire que les Muses encor fussent nommées de mesme sexe, pour montrer, qu'ainsi que la femme est excelllement constante, l'erudition et la vertu sont la plus stable et immuable possession que l'on se puisse acquerir,

obviously taking special pains to deny the frequent allegations of infidelity. Pasithée answers gratefully, "Je vous remercie, Solitaire, de l'avantage que vous donnez à ce sexe accusé ordinairement d'inconstance et de legereté."²

¹ *El Criticón*, ed. M. Romera-Navarro, Philadelphia, 1940, III, 340-361. Cf. *El Rey Gallo*, Valencia, 1694, pp. 121-140. Santos' borrowings from Gracián are discussed in detail in the writer's Ph. D. dissertation, *Francisco Santos' Debt to Gracián*, University of Texas, May, 1948.

² *Oeuvres de François Rabelais*, ed. A. Lefranc, et al., 1931, *Introduction*, p. liv.

² *Discours philosophiques*, 1587, p. 22 v°.

Pontus was an intimate friend of Louise Labé, and undoubtedly knew Pernette du Guillet and other poetesses and writers. In 1554 he had paid a visit to the learned Marguerite du Bourg, Dame de Gage, to whom he dedicated the first edition of his *Discours du Temps*, two years later.³ That he welcomed to Bissy learned ladies as well as men is shown by a remark of Le Curieux, rationalist spokesman of the *Discours Philosophiques*, in the *Second Curieux*: "Les beautez et bonnes graces qui sortent de ceans nous remettoit facilement en memoire les anges et les belles ames à l'entour desquelles nostre discours d'hersoir fut arresté." When Pontus expresses gratification at the impression Pasithée has made upon his guests, Le Curieux declares that her perfection proves a point: "La femme ne doit ceder à l'homme en aucune perfection d'esprit."⁴

These comments, which remain unchanged in the final edition of 1587, were of course more pertinent in 1552 or 1557. Realizing this, perhaps, Pontus had long since suppressed his most eloquent plea for womanhood, the preface to the first edition of the *Premier Solitaire*, written in the heat of the conflict. This six-page essay (for it inevitably reminds one of Montaigne's earlier efforts), addressed to all "Doctes, Gentilz et gracieux esprits françois," leans heavily on Plutarch's *Mulierum Virtutes*, which had been translated three years before by Denys Sauvage, probably to provide ammunition for the feminists.⁵ The author sets out purposefully to refute "certains Thucidides de ce tems," pointing to the valorous women of antiquity, citing the feats of the Amazons,⁶ and praising women of intelligence and creative ability like Sapho and Pythagoras' daughter, Arete. To disprove the accusation of infidelity he gives examples of chastity, among them, inevitably, Lucretia. Presenting his final example, he cries triumphantly,

Peuvent ne voir les taupes de ce siecle la splendeur d'une et une autre Princesse Marguerite? Desquelles celle nous laissa autant de dueil et

³ Lyon, 1556.

⁴ *Discours philosophiques*, 1587, p. 289 r^o.

⁵ *Des vertus et illustres faicts des femmes*, Lyon, 1549.

⁶ Pontus' preface anticipated most of the arguments put forth by Charles Estienne, *Que l'excellence de la femme est plus grande que celle de l'homme*, 1554. Cf. L. M. Richardson, *Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance*, Johns Hopkins, 1929, pp. 103-104. Miss Richardson incorrectly states that Jacques Tahureau was the first to mention the Amazons in feminist literature.

mescontentement à sa mort, comme ceste nous apporte d'admiration par la perfection de sa doctrine et accomplissement de ses graces!

The defense concludes with the hope that the "tenebreux misogynes" will no longer be blinded by stupid malice and with a summons to all learned spirits to join him in singing the perfections of womanhood.

Both as a neoplatonist disciple of Ficino who translated Leo Hebraeus' dialogues on ideal love, and as a rationalist who was aware of the increasing importance of woman's role in society, Pontus de Tyard belonged in the feminist camp. That he was also a man in love with one "qui seul pourroit preuver par preuve de ses graces divines qu'à tout vertueux exercice vous (les femmes) estes nées,"⁷ may also have influenced his decision.

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US JOIS NOVELS, COMPLITZ DE GRANS BEUTATZ

The five stanzas beginning *Us jois novels, complitz de grans beutatz*, attributed by two of the Old Provençal *chansonniers* to Aimeric de Peguilhan, are in reality only a part of the poem of Daude de Pradas, *Ben ay' Amors, quar anc me fes chauzir*. Since the beginning is different, it is not surprising that no one has noticed this fact before. Both Bartsch and Pillet-Carstens¹ accept the attribution to Aimeric without question; and evidently the editor of the poems of Daude de Pradas (Mr. A. H. Schutz)² did not happen to stumble upon this poem of Aimeric. It was only an accident that brought the identity of the two poems to my attention in the course of preparing an edition of Aimeric: looking

⁷ *Preface, Premier Solitaire*, 1552.

¹ K. Bartsch, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur*, Elberfeld, 1872; Pillet-Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, Halle, 1933. The second work is a revision and an amplification of the first. Both assign the number 10, 53 to the poem as it appears under Aimeric's name, and 124, 6 to the poem of Daude de Pradas. Designations of MSS in this article are taken from these works (see particularly Pillet-Carstens, p. x and following).

² *Poésies de Daude de Pradas*, publiées par A. H. Schutz, Paris-Toulouse, 1933 (Bibliothèque Méridionale, 1^{re} série, tome XXII).

up a word in Levy's *Supplementwörterbuch*, I found quoted there the same passage I had before me, but ascribed to Daude de Pradas.

There is little doubt that the poem is really the work of Daude. It is attributed to him by twelve MSS (*ACD^aD^cFGIKMNRf*) and by Matfre Ermengaud in the *Breviari d'amor*,³ where the first stanza is quoted. It is anonymous in *O*. Only two MSS (*CR*) attribute it to Aimeric de Peguilhan, and both also contain the complete poem, correctly ascribed to Daude de Pradas; more accurately, *C* contains the complete poem: the version of *R* lacks the fifth stanza, according to Mr. Schutz's edition. Aimeric's claim to the poem is therefore very slight.

Daude's poem, as it appears in Mr. Schutz's edition, has six stanzas and a *tornada*. The version attributed to Aimeric begins with the second stanza, and lacks the *tornada*. It is, furthermore, considerably garbled in meter and rime. I say "the version" rather than "the versions," because the readings of the two MSS evidently derive from a single original, as the errors of one are repeated in the other.

Taking all these facts into account, we can say with some certainty that the attribution to Aimeric was a mistake on the part of the compiler of one of the common sources of *CR*. Such mistakes are common enough in the Provençal MSS, as a glance at Pillet-Carstens will show. Occasionally it is possible, from an examination of the extant MSS, to see how the error arose,⁴ but more often we are forced to admit that we do not know. In the present case, nothing in the form or content of the poem suggests Aimeric rather than any other troubadour; and the order of poems in the MSS would not seem conducive to an erroneous attribution of this sort, nor, to the best of my knowledge, is there any other confusion of the poems of Daude and Aimeric. A possible explanation, which I advance only as a guess, is this: The five stanzas in question appeared on one folio of a collection in small format, on loose sheets; the beginning and the end of the poem were on other folios. This folio was introduced by accident among the poems of Aimeric de Peguilhan, and the stanzas (minus beginning and end) were then thought to be his, and were so ascribed in one of the

³ Edited by Gabriel Azais, Béziers-Paris, 1862-1881; lines 28549-56.

⁴ See my note "On the Attribution of a Provençal Poem," in *Modern Language Notes*, May, 1947.

common sources of *C* and *R*. This would account for both the truncations and the attribution.

Since the poem has already been edited critically,⁵ I offer here a complete set of variants (apart from minor details of spelling) from *C*, folio 98, and *R*, folio 49 (the versions attributed to Daude de Pradas appear on folios 167 and 31, respectively). These readings are from my own copies from the MSS. Unless otherwise noted, all variants are given in the spelling of *C*, but are common to both *C* and *R*.

Variants

II. 9. (joves cors) ioys nouelhs; (gran beutat) grans beutatz. 10. (guais) guay; (cortes) cuende; (de bon agrat) e de bon grat *C*, de bon grat *R*. 11. (fis) fin; (renovelhatz e sors) ualen e melhurat. 12. (alhors) dalhor *C*. 13. (q'ieu) que; ni·m vir *lacking*. 14. (tir) an. 15. (li vet nulh temps ni·l tuelh) lur uedi ni lur tuelh. 16. (Amors) amor.

III. 17. (Gaugz e plazers) Gaug e plazer; (ven) ue; (mi) men. 18. (e) be; (tan m'es bon a suffrir) quan men ue a fugir. 19. (molt) trop. 20. (don so) des so *C*, de so *R*. 21. (qu'ieu no vuelh ges aver quist ni trobat) e ges no uuelh per res auer conquist. 22. (dona que m'aya trop leu joi donat) belha domna que leu magues (magues leu *R*) ioy dat. 23. (aduy) adutz. 24. (aduy) adutz.

IV. 25. (Mercees) merce. 27. (dels maltragz) del maltrag; (lone temps) tostz temps. 28. (Razos) amors. 29. (torna) sembla. 30. (per folh) per fols; (mi) men *C*, me *R*. 31. (no·s . . . no·s) nom . . . nom. 32. (tan) tal.

V. 34. (qu'ieu) quiem; (e) o *C*. 35. (Razos) merce; (trai, de lai, sas ricors) tra de lieys sa ricors. 37. (ges) ylh; (fina) ni sa; (lauzors) ualors *C*, ualor *R*. 38. (escuelh) erguelh *C*. 39. (dieus d'amor) drech damors *R*; (a ben) o a.

VI. 41. (devet) desuest; (destuelh) despuelh. 42. (ans) e. 43. (capduelhs e guitz e tors) cap dels tors e palays. 44. (e·m pays tot jorn de pessamen onrat) totz iorns et er (e ser *R*) de pensamens honratz. 45. (De) Del *R*; (paguat) paguatz. 46. (no l'enguana de re lo miradors) quar nol enguana de rel miradors. 47. (onrar) amar. 48. (e qui·s vol) quis uuelha.

These MSS thus present a version substantially different from that of any of the MSS considered by Mr. Schutz: phrases and whole lines are totally unlike anything in his text or variants. I have already mentioned the faulty meter and rimes (cf. lines 11, 13, 21, 43). The deviations in lines 15, 18, 22, 35, 44, and 46 are equally striking.

The MSS of the version attributed to Daude which come closest

⁵ Schutz's edition (see note 2, above), pp. 12-17, no. III.

to our text in individual lines are: *AD^eD^cOR* (17), *IKR* (28), *C* (32), *MNOR* (41), *MNOR* (46), *R* (48). The common term of all but one of these groups is *R*. From this, one might judge that *R* was closest of all to our text; but, according to Mr. Schutz, *R* does not contain stanza five, which is present in the version we are considering. Even so, it is not impossible that our version and that of *R* (folio 31, under the name of Daude) were derived, at a few removes, from the same source, since the omission of this stanza in *R* is probably due only to careless copying.

If anyone cares to confirm the statements made in this article, he can consult Mahn's *Gedichte*,⁶ where the versions of *C* and *R* ascribed to Aimeric are printed under the numbers 1218 and 1219, respectively. The accuracy of my readings can be checked from reproductions of the two MSS made by the Modern Language Association of America, and now on deposit in the Library of Congress (MLA deposit, nos 293 and 918, respectively). It is to be regretted that Mr. Schutz's edition of *Daude de Pradas*, like many another useful Provençal text, is found in so few libraries in this country. I could not find a copy in the Chicago area, and was obliged to obtain one by inter-library loan from the Ohio State University Library, a favor for which I should like to express my gratitude here.

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MARIE DE FRANCE, *LAIS*, PROLOGUE, 13-16

A recent article by Professor L. Spitzer indicates that the Prologue to Marie's *Lais* shows a consciousness on the part of the poet of her rôle as "poeta philosophus et theologus"¹ If one accepts this general thesis, it may be possible to clarify lines 13-16 in the light of current exegetical practice. After saying that the ancients deliberately composed their works with a certain obscurity, Marie warns (ll. 13-16):

⁶ A. Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours in provenzalischer Sprache*, Berlin, 1856-73 (4 vols.).

¹ *MP* XLI (1943), 96-102.

Pur ceus ki a venir esteient
 E ki aprendre les deveient,
 K'i peüssent gloser la lettre
 E de lur sen le surplus mettre.²

Professor Ewert supplies a literal translation of the Prologue in his notes, where the above passage is rendered:

so that those who were to come after them and were to learn them, might construe their writing and add to it from their own ingenuity.³

If we take *lettre* and *sen* as technical terms, and suppose *surplus* to be a synonym for a third technical term which would be understood in the light of the first two, the translation may be made more precise.

In the schools of the twelfth century a given text was studied on three levels. The process is explained clearly in a recent study of medieval education:

Elle (*expositio*) comprenait trois sortes d'explications, appelées *littera*, *sensus* et *sententia*. *Littera*, c'était l'explication grammaticale; *sensus*, le sens que donne à première vue la *littera*; et *sententia*, l'intelligence profonde de la pensée de l'auteur, le contenu doctrinal. Ces trois explications se suivaient naturellement dans l'ordre où nous les avons énoncées; une fois données toutes trois, l'exégèse est parfaite. "Quid enim aliud in lectura queritur quam textus intelligentia, que *sententia* nominatur," dit Robert de Melun.⁴

This method was applied not only in the study of profane authors, but in the study of Scripture as well.⁵ Theologians of the period frequently show profound contempt for those who understand only the sense of Scripture and cannot proceed to the *sentence*.⁶ It

² *Lais*, ed. Ewert (Oxford, 1944), p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁴ G. Paré, A. Brunet, P. Tremblay, *La renaissance du XII^e siècle: les écoles et l'enseignement* (Paris, Ottawa, 1933), p. 116. A first-hand description of the process may be found in the *Didascalion* of Hugh of St. Victor.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

⁶ Thus, for example, Bruno Astensis, *Comment. in Matth.*, Pars IV, Cap. XXII, *PL*, 165, 252: "ut ergo longo vivimus tempore, dimittamus avem et litteram quae occidit, teneamus pullos et ova, id est spiritualem intelligentiam quae vivificat. . . . Nos enim in civitate Dei, nos in sancta ecclesia harum nuptiarum delicias edimus: illi autem in villa morantur; illi in grosso pane litterae, et rusticano cibo delectantur. In villa enim sunt quicunque extra Ecclesiam sunt."

is not impossible that a similar attitude may have prevailed among those whose concern was either the study or the composition of profane texts.⁷

The terms *littera*, *sensus*, and *sententia* suit the context of Marie's prologue with striking appropriateness. The philosophers of olden times wrote with the awareness of the *sententia* which should arise from their texts.⁸

Pur ceus ki a venir esteient
E ki aprendre les deveient,
K'i peüssent glosier la lettre (*littera*)
E de lur sen (*sensus*) le surplus (*sententia*) mettre.

In other words,

so that those who were to come after them and to learn them might gloss the letter or grammatical structure and from the apparent sense determine the doctrinal content.

Perhaps we should inquire into the possible *sententiae* of Marie's *Lais*.

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JEAN LEMAIRE ET LA COMPLAINTE DE MARGUERITE D'AUTRICHE SUR LA MORT DE SON PÈRE

Dans "la Première Epistre de l'Amant Verd, à Madame Marguerite Auguste" qu'écrivit Jean Lemaire de Belges peu de temps après la mort de Philibert le Beau (septembre 1504), nous lisons les vers suivants :

Bien me plaisoit te voir tant estre aymee
De deux seigneurs, de haute renommee.
Lun fut d'Espaigne, et lautre de Sauoie,
Que plus bel homme au monde ne sauoie.¹

⁷ For a late instance of this attitude, see the Prologue to Usk's *Testament of Love*, ed. Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (Oxford, 1897), p. 1.

⁸ The idea is not far-fetched. Cf. Philosophy's remarks to Boethius, *De consolatione*, I, Pr. V: "Itaque non tam me loci huius quam tua facies movet, nec bibliothecae potius comptos ebore ac vitro parietes quam tuae mentis sedem requiro; in qua non libros, sed id quod libros pretium facit, librorum quandam meorum sententias conlocavi."

¹ *Oeuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*, p. p. Stecher (Louvain, 1885), III, 7.

Il existe une "Complaincte que faict la fille unicq de Maximilien Empereur Depuis son douloreux trespas." On trouve ce poème dans plusieurs mss., et, en particulier, dans la chronique de Nicaise Ladam. Marguerite exprime ses sentiments de tristesse et de mélancolie. Personne, dit-elle, n'a souffert autant que moi: les quatre princes que j'aimais le mieux au monde sont morts: mes deux maris (Juan d'Espagne et Philibert le Beau), mon frère (Philippe le Beau) et mon père (Maximilien d'Autriche):

Les deux premiers se furent mes marys
Dont maintes gens eurent les coeurs marris:
Prince d'Espagne, et le dueq de Savoye
Que plus bel homme au monde ne scavoie.*

L'épître fut publiée en 1511,³ Maximilien mourut le 12 janvier 1519. Non seulement les passages des deux pièces que nous venons de citer sont de même inspiration et ont le même ton; mais le dernier vers est exactement le même dans les deux poèmes et la rime équivoquée est aussi la même. Si c'est bien Marguerite qui a composé la "Complaincte," elle s'est, vraisemblablement, souvenue plus ou moins consciemment de l'Epître de Jean Lemaire.

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CHAUCER'S "AIRISH BEASTS"

Among the wonders seen by the dreamer of the *House of Fame* as he travels through the upper air in the grasp of the eagle are "the eyryssh bestes." With a warning against being "adrad," the eagle calls the dreamer's attention to them:

* Marcel Françon, *Albums poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche* (Paris-Cambridge, 1934), p. 257.

* Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La concorde des deux langages*, éd. J. Frappier (Paris, 1947), xiv, n. 1. M. Frappier a donné une édition des Epîtres de l'Amant Vert qui a paru en 1948, mais que nous n'avons pu consulter. On ne pourra s'empêcher de remarquer que M. Jasinski a été mal inspiré quand il a dit de Jean Lemaire: "à l'instar de Catulle, dans ses deux *Epîtres de l'Amant Vert*, il chante joliment la mort de Marguerite d'Autriche en faisant exhaler par un perroquet une plainte légère." (*Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1947, I, 132).

' For in this region, certeyn,
Duelleth many a citezeyn,
Of which that speketh Daun Plato.
These ben the eyryssh bestes, lo! ' 1

The timorous dreamer plucks up courage and looks about:

Tho gan y loken under me
And beheld the ayerissh bestes,
Cloudes, mystes, and tempestes,
Snowes, hayles, reynes, wyndes,³

Skeat interpreted the phrase as a reference to the signs of the zodiac and other constellations bearing animal names.³ Robinson, however, following W. P. Ker,⁴ believes that the "eyryssh bestes" are probably the daemons of the air.⁵ Ker showed that Chaucer derived the rather unexpected word *citezeyn* from the "aerios cives" of the *Anteclaudianus* of Alanus de Insulis, a work that Chaucer mentions by name in line 986, and that the *bestes* goes back to Augustine's "aeria . . . animalia," which in turn stems from the *De Deo Socratis* of Apuleius, "where the derivation of the whole theory from Plato is sufficiently acknowledged."⁶ All of these writers are discussing the daemons of the air, intermediaries between the gods and men. If Chaucer is indeed following Alanus and Apuleius, as Ker suggests, then he too must be thinking of the daemons of the air.

One bit of evidence which has been overlooked, however, gives support to the earlier view of Skeat. In lines 940-956, which come between the two references to "airish beasts," Chaucer gives a greatly condensed paraphrase of the Phaethon story, as told by Ovid in *Metamorphoses*, II, 47-313.⁷ There are two references to beasts

¹ *House of Fame*, 929-32. This and the following quotation are from F. N. Robinson, ed., *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Boston, 1933.

² *Ibid.*, 964-67.

⁸ W. W. Skeat, ed., *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2d. ed., Oxford, 1900; III, 263.

⁴ W. P. Ker, "Chaucer, 'House of Fame' (ii. 417-426)," *The Modern Quarterly*, I, No. 5 (1899), 38-39.

⁵ Robinson, *op. cit.*, 892.

^a Ker, *loc. cit.*, 38.

⁷ In addition to the overwhelming probability that Chaucer would go to his favorite Ovid for this story, there are some definite verbal parallels:

HF 941 f:

Th

that night I met.

of the air in this passage, both clearly referring to the zodiacal signs. The first is in Phoebus' warning to Phaethon of the dangers of the journey:

per insidias iter est *formasque ferarum!*
 utque viam teneas nulloque errore traharis,
 per tamen adversi gradieris cornua *tauri*
Haemoniosque arcus violentique ora Leonis
 saevasque circuitu curvantem bracchia longo
*Scorpius atque aliter curvantem bracchia Cancrum.*⁸

The second immediately precedes the description of Phaethon's terror at the sight of the Scorpion:

sparsa quoque in vario passim miracula caelo
*vastarumque videt trepidus simulacra ferarum.*⁹

It seems hardly likely that Chaucer would overlook these two vivid pictures of the zodiacal signs as wild beasts.

Chaucer's references to "airish beasts" who are also "citizens" thus seem to be a blend of Alanus' "*aerios cives*" and Ovid's "*simulacra vastarum ferarum.*" The paraphrase from Ovid and the reference by name to the *Anteclaudianus* indicate that both were in his mind, while the reference to "daun Plato" seems to include either Augustine or Apuleius (or both) among the influences on this passage. Perhaps Chaucer himself did not quite know whether he intended to describe daemons or zodiacal animals. But his repetition of the Ovid-inspired "beasts" seems to indicate that the images of the Bull, the Crab, the Ram, the Fishes, the Scorpion, the Lion, and the Goat were dominant in his mind.

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Met. I, 751: Sole satus Phaethon.

HF 950 ff: And he, for ferde, loste hys wyt
 Of that, and let the reynes gon
 Of his hors.

Met. II, 200: mentis inops gelida formidine lora remisit.

HF 955 f: Til Jupiter, loo, atte laste,
 Hym slow, and fro the carte caste.

Met. II, 312 f: pariterque [pater omnipotens] animaque rotisque
 expulit.

⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II, 78-83. This and the following quotation are from the Loeb Classical Library edition, ed. F. J. Miller, London, 1916.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 193-94.

CHAUCER'S PHILIPPA, DAUGHTER OF PANNETO

The fragmentary household accounts of Elizabeth of Ulster for the years 1357-1359 mention gifts to and expenses of Chaucer and of, among others, a lady designated as Philippa Pan'.¹ Her name appears in the records four times, in each instance being spelled in unexpanded form as Ph Pan.² The first name, written as Ph, unquestionably stands for *Philippa*; however, some real uncertainty has existed as to how the second name should be expanded. The early explanation in 1886 of Edward A. Bond is that Pan was "probably the contracted form of the word *Panetaria*—mistress of the pantry."³ The more recent opinion in 1926 of the late Professor John M. Manly is that Pan represented a family name and that as such it appears "in many forms: *Panetaria*, *de la Panetrie*, *Pentry*, *Panter*, and the like."⁴ In this connection, one may point out that the will of Johis de Salkeld, proved January 20, 1358/9, includes another variant of this family name in mentioning a man called Thome de Paniteri.⁵ But the contracted form of Pan may well represent some wholly different name; in fact, Manly himself cites a wealthy family in fourteenth-century England named Pantolf and says that "the abbreviation may as well stand for this name as for *panetaria*, and may well be a family name and not an official designation."⁶

To pursue a further possible identification of the name, the "mysterious lady who is designated as Philippa Pan'"⁷ may not be at all mysterious. Indeed, she may be no other person than Chaucer's wife Philippa, daughter of Paon, a knight from Roet, a small town in Hainaut. Early in the century, her father was rewarded for services in England, Kervyn de Lettenhove calling attention to the fact that "En 1332, un comte de la maison de la

¹ Edward A. Bond, *Life-Records of Chaucer* (Sec. Ser., 1886), XXI, 98-99.

² R. E. G. Kirk, *Life-Records of Chaucer* (Sec. Ser., 1900), XXXII, 152-153.

³ Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁴ John M. Manly, *Some New Light on Chancer* (New York, 1926), p. 62; see also Walter Rye, *London Athenæum* (January 29, 1881), pp. 166 ff.

⁵ R. S. Ferguson, *Testamenta Karleolensia* (1353-1386) (London, 1893), No. XIX.

⁶ Manley, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁷ *Ibid.*

reine d'Angleterre mentionne un don fait à Panneto de Roed, de Hannonia.”⁸ The appearance in this record of the word Panneto (sometimes elsewhere spelled Paonnet or Paunet) suggests immediately the full form of the name abbreviated in the household accounts as Pan. In other words, Philippa Pan' and Philippa, daughter of Panneto, obviously may be one and the same person. This is both a natural and a satisfactory identification of Philippa Pan'; thus Manly, apparently unaware of the spelling Panneto, had insufficient evidence for claiming that the “mysterious lady” was a person different from “that Philippa who at some time before 1366 became the poet's wife.”⁹

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A NOTE ON THE MAN OF MODE

In a chapter on Etherege in *The Relation of Molière to Restoration Comedy*, the author, Professor John Wilcox, concludes:

. . . no likeness between Molière and Etherege is close enough to prove that borrowing occurred. Even if the possible borrowing in Etherege's last play [*The Man of Mode*] is conceded, there is still no sound evidence that *The Comical Revenge* or *She Would If She Could* was derived from Molière, nor even that Etherege had witnessed or read any of his plays before 1676.¹

What Professor Wilcox and all previous writers on the subject have overlooked is a textual parallel between *The Man of Mode* and Molière's *Les Précieuses Ridicules* which proves quite conclusively that Etherege knew Molière's play and, in all probability, had it before him as he wrote his own comedy. In Scene 11 of *Les Précieuses Ridicules* Mascarille calls to his “laquais”: “Hola, Champagne, Picard, Bourguignon, Casquaret, Basque, la Verdure Lorrain, Provençal, la Violette.”² In Act III, scene 3, of *The Man of Mode* Sir Fopling Flutter calls his “equipage”: “Hey,

⁸ Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart* (Brussels, 1877), xxiii, 28.

⁹ Manly, *op. cit.*, p. 57; see also p. 63.

¹ New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, p. 81.

² Despois, editor, *Oeuvres de Molière*, Paris, Hachette, 1875, II, 105.

Champaine, Norman, La Rose, La Fleur, La Tour, La Verdure!"³ Note that both start with an exclamation and the same name. Note also that the name "La Verdure" occurs in both passages. Note further that Etherege's "La Rose" and "La Fleur" are suggested by Molière's "la Violette." Add to this that Molière's "Picard," "Bourguignon," "Basque," "Lorrain" and "Provençal" are names that stand for the inhabitant of a certain locale, and that Etherege's "Norman" does so too. And it is notable that when Sir Fopling must change the "barbarous" English name of John Trott borne by one of his equipage he rechristens him Hampshire, the name of the offender's county.⁴

It is in the light of these two passages that the similarities that others have noted between Sir Fopling Flutter and Mascarille become significant.⁵ I suggest also a similarity between Sir Fopling's finding fault with the "English motions" of one of his dancing servants and Mascarille's fault-finding with the time kept by the "violons" that play for his dancing,⁶ and between the aplomb shown by Mascarille when he is exposed and Sir Fopling's equally undisturbed fashion of reacting to Mrs. Loveit's rage when she turns on him.⁷ One might go on and suggest that Sir Fopling's song—of his own composition—may be an echo of Mascarille's "impromptu,"⁸ but enough resemblances have already been noted to warrant the belief that Etherege's Sir Fopling Flutter owes much to Molière's Mascarille.⁹

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³ Brett-Smith, editor, *The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege*, II. 125-126, Oxford, 1927, II, 237.

⁴ *The Man of Mode*, III, 3, p. 242.

⁵ See Wilcox, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-81.

⁶ *The Man of Mode*, IV, 1, p. 254. *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, Sc. 12, p. 109.

⁷ *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, Sc. 16, p. 115. *The Man of Mode*, V, 2, p. 286.

⁸ *The Man of Mode*, IV, 2, p. 262. *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, Sc. 9, p. 84.

⁹ By 1676 *Les Précieuses Ridicules* was available in some eight editions. Etherege could have had access to the play in print, and although it cannot be demonstrated, he might possibly have seen the play in performance in France. He might also have derived some ideas for Sir Fopling from Richard Flecknoe's unacted play, *The Damoiselles a-la-Mode* (printed in 1667), a close adaptation of *Les Précieuses Ridicules*.

MILTON'S AID TO THE POLYGLOTT BIBLE

Masson suspected, because of a certain Council order, that Milton had brought before the Council of State a petition from Brian Walton for financial aid with the *Polyglott Bible*.¹ It may be that he had, but there is more certain evidence of aid to the great project by Milton. On July 9, 1653, the Council ordered, "on reading of a letter from Mr. Milton to Sir G. Pickering, that Pickering confer with the doctors mentioned as to what quantities of paper shall be imported free from duty, for carrying on the translation of the Bible."² As a result of this action the Council issued, on July 15th, a warrant to the Commissioners of Custom and Excise, "To permit Brune Ryves to import custom free 7,000 reams of paper, for the translation of the Bible into Oriental and learned tongues."³ Dr. Brune Ryves, Dean of Chichester, was one of the eminent divines of the period. He and Walton, then, were probably the "doctors mentioned" by Milton. And Milton's letter to Pickering, now lost, must be counted among his few efforts to use his position to aid acquaintances.

In the preface to the great Bible Walton expressed gratitude to many who had helped him, among them "Brunus Ryvesius Decanus Cistrensis." Then, after a list of such important names, "quibus aliisque omnibus qui labores nostros animis benevolis prosecuti sunt, gratitudinis vinculo mecum omnes qui aliquid utilitatis ex hac editione percepturi sunt obstricti tenentur."⁴ It is ironic that this "we also thank" must cover the aid of John Milton, a great but blind linguist, his small contribution perhaps forgotten entirely.

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¹ David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (London, 1859-1894), IV, 447. Walton had served as assistant to Reverend Stocke in Milton's boyhood parish.

² CSPD, 1653-64, p. 16. Pickering was then president of the Council. Masson (IV, 524) confused this with another proposed translation, and suggested Owen and Goodwin as the divines alluded to.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 428. There were additional grants later.

⁴ Brian Walton's preface, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta . . .* (London, 1657), Tome I [Vol. 6], sig. C₂.

JAMES JOYCE'S EPIPHANIES

So far as I have been able to determine, no-one has remarked on the close coincidence between part of Joyce's account of his theory of epiphanies and an entry in a notebook of his, portions of which are dated 1904, a year during which he was writing *Stephen Hero*:

This triviality made him think of Moments of spiritual life.—Note-collecting many such moments together in a book of epiphanies. By an epiphany he meant a sudden spiritual manifestation . . . —*Stephen Hero*.¹

Significant of Joyce's continued appreciation of epiphanies is the following observation by Frank Budgen:

In the course of many talks with Joyce in Zürich I found that for him human character was best displayed—I had almost said entirely displayed—in the commonest acts of life.²

Cf. *Stephen Hero*: "The soul of the commonest object, the structure of which is so adjusted, seems to us radiant. The object achieves its epiphany."³

Oliver St. J. Gogarty's remark that Joyce probably learned the meaning of *epiphany* as an aside in his Latin class⁴ must be regarded as no more than a guess. It seems at least as likely that Joyce got his information from Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*, which the autobiographical Stephen "read . . . by the hour."⁵

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¹ Ed. Theodore Spencer (New York, 1944), p. 211. Italics mine. For the history of the composition of *Stephen Hero*, see *ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

² Quoted by Herbert Gorman, *James Joyce* (New York and Toronto, 1939), p. 136.

³ *James Joyce and the Making of ULYSSES* (New York, 1934), p. 74.

⁴ Page 213.

⁵ *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street* (New York, 1937), p. 295.

Stephen Hero, p. 26.

BEOWULF 249: WLITE = ICELANDIC LITR

When the coastguard of Hróðgar, the Danish king, expresses his sentiments in a speech at the arrival of the Geats on his shore, he has this to say about Beowulf:

Næfre ic maran geseah
eorla ofer eorþan, þonne is eower sum,
secg on searwum; nis þæt seldguma,
wæpnum geweorðad, næfne him his wlite leoge,
ænlic ansyn.

Never saw I a bigger (greater) man of earls on earth, than is one among you, a hero in harness; that is not a hall-retainer, honored by his weapons, unless his appearance belie him, his unique looks.

A fairly close parallel to this use of *wlite* 'looks, appearance,' is found in *Njáls saga* chapter 50. Gizurr hvíti is scrutinizing an ugly-looking customer, Skammkell, and remarks: *eigi deilir litr kosti, ef þú gefst vel* 'looks do not reveal qualities, if you turn out well.' This is obviously an old saying in Icelandic in which the original meaning of 'looks, appearance' still lingers, though the common meaning 'color' would also do reasonably well.

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REVIEWS

George Eliot: Her Life and Books. By GERALD BULLETT. London: Collins, 1947. Pp. 256. 12s. 6d.

This is by no means a definitive study of the life and work of George Eliot. Yet in its two hundred and fifty pages, Mr. Bullett succeeds in presenting to us a three-dimensional view of his subject. In swift and graphic strokes he sketches in George Eliot's life, actually compressing the first thirty years of that life into the first chapter. He proceeds to show Marian Evans as a journalist in London, as the companion of George Henry Lewes, and as a novelist. By the end of Chapter V, we have finished Part I; in Part II we are given three chapters, on "The Rustic Novels," "Invention versus Inspiration," and "Middlemarch." In three Appendices we find illustrative passages from George Eliot's translations from

Strauss and Feuerbach, and from Lewes' *Life of Goethe* and other writings. The total impression is one of balance, proper accent, critical objectivity combined with emotional insight. Writing as a novelist and a critic, Mr. Bullett brings George Eliot out of the mists of Victorian scandal and idol-worshiping, into the light of the present. He knows the hazards of applying our new knowledge of psychology to one long dead; and in one of the finest passages in the book (p. 156), concerned with George Eliot's state of mind after her marriage to John Walter Cross, he pauses and quietly says: "I refrain from the impertinence of pretending to know her mind at that moment." On the other hand, equipped as he is with both the novelist's insight and the psychologist's knowledge, he can account for "the grey outlook" in her life as being "the result not of her opinions but of her unbuoyant temperament, the hidden psychological causes of which are now beyond our finding" (p. 145). Thus we have in Mr. Bullett's volume a splendid combination of narration and analysis. Readers will not soon forget the early pages on the Warwickshire background, the later pages on Marian Evans' life at 142 Strand and her work on the *Westminster Review*, and the letter (omitted by Cross) which she wrote to Charles Bray three months after leaving England with Lewes (pp. 88-90). Nor will one forget the calm and telling analysis of her novels, especially of *Middlemarch*. Again we note the psychological insight when, in dealing with George Eliot's moral idealism, the author accounts for her voracious reading and her learning and her moralism as rooted in "a pathological self-dislike" (p. 162).

British restrictions on paper are no doubt responsible for the brevity of this book, which in its general design would seem to suggest a work of much greater magnitude. Indeed, aside from a few misprints (pp. 82, 121, etc.), one quarrels only about what is omitted. George Eliot's early essays, says Mr. Bullett very truly, are "hard to come by" and thus "lavish quotation is legitimate" (p. 73); but quotations from the essays are very fragmentary. Moreover, if excerpts from Strauss and Feuerbach can be given in Appendices, why cannot we have a substantial passage of the "gay anger" which one finds in George Eliot's famous satirical attack on the Evangelical spell-binder, Dr. Cumming? Finally, why does the book end so abruptly with the termination of the chapter on *Middlemarch*? One answer is possible: the book falls into two Parts, the first an organic narrative actually ending with the word "dead," and the second a series of three studies of the novels. Even so, one is left with a sense of incompleteness. On the other hand, the work as a whole has not only artistic finish but also scholarly integrity. Mr. Bullett has availed himself of the kindness of Professors Gordon S. Haight and Anna T. Kitchel, who have given him access to material not examined by previous biographers. He has also levied upon scholarly works in his field, upon Mr. Haight's *George Eliot and John Chapman*, on Elizabeth S. Hal-

dane's *George Eliot and her Times*, on M. P. Bourlhonne's *George Eliot: essai de biographie intellectuelle et morale*. It is gratifying to see a great Victorian figure treated with more than twentieth-century "fictionalizing." Mr. Bullett makes Marian Evans stand before us, alive. But he also gives us the feeling that he has examined all of the facts. The result is that we have a compact, graphic, and living account, an excellent introduction to George Eliot for those who do not know her, or who mis-know her, and a memorable re-vivifying of her to those of us who have, for so many years, witnessed either attack or neglect when her name came into the discussion of great fiction.

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The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Edited by W. S. LEWIS, Volumes XIII and XIV: *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Thomas Gray, Richard West, and Thomas Ashton.* Edited by W. S. LEWIS, GEORGE L. LAM, and CHARLES H. BENNETT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. Pp. lv + 250 + v + 315. Two volumes in one binding, \$20.00.

Of the large and varied company of Horace Walpole's friends who were recipients of his letters there is probably none who is so immediately interesting to the modern reader as Thomas Gray, and none who came so near to equalling him in mastery of the gracious art of the familiar letter. Richard West, who died of tuberculosis at the age of 26, is a charming figure in his own right and has also the romantic appeal of an "inheritor of unfulfilled renown." Thomas Ashton, not a winning or an admirable person, has at least the claim to our attention that he was the fourth member of the group of Eton schoolboys who called themselves the "quadruple alliance." It is probably the intrinsic interest of the persons concerned that explains why this element of Walpole's correspondence has already been so adequately edited that there was little left for the Yale editors to contribute.

Walpole's correspondence with his three schoolboy friends is here presented in a single chronological sequence. The earliest letter is one from Gray written in 1734. The correspondence with West ends with West's death in 1742. The latest letter from Ashton is dated in 1741. The correspondence with Gray was interrupted in 1738, first because he and Walpole were together during their travels on the Continent, and then because of their unhappy quar-

¹ We regret to report that C. F. Harrold died in July, 1948.—THE EDITORS.

rel. It was resumed in 1745 after the reconciliation and continues until Gray's death in 1771. The renewed correspondence with Gray fills the whole of the second of the two volumes of the Yale edition.

The correspondence with Gray includes 139 letters, of which 126 are from Gray and only 13 from Walpole. The rest of Walpole's letters to Gray have been lost. The correspondence with West consists of 39 letters, 20 from Walpole, 19 from West. The correspondence with Ashton includes 5 letters, 3 from Walpole, 2 from Ashton. The extant letters from Walpole to his three correspondents reach a total of only 36.

One of the two letters from Ashton, a verse epistle in lively heroic couplets and frequently reminiscent of Pope, is here published for the first time. It is printed from a photostat of Brit. Mus. Add. MS 37,728. With this exception, the whole correspondence has for some years been available to scholars in very competent editions. The 126 letters from Gray and the 13 from Walpole to Gray are accurately printed and fully annotated by Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1935. A comparison of several letters chosen at random shows no variants other than the superficial changes introduced into the Yale edition by its established policy of modernizing spelling and the use of capitals. All of the letters here reproduced (except the verse-epistle from Ashton) are included among the 248 letters in Paget Townbee's *The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1915. The 36 letters of Walpole were accurately printed, but with slight annotation, by Mrs. Toynbee in *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, 16 vols., Oxford, 1903-5. The annotations of the Yale editors are somewhat fuller than those of Toynbee-Whibley and a good deal fuller than those of Paget Toynbee. Now and then they have been able to elucidate a reference that had baffled their predecessors.

Beyond their primary contents, these volumes are also the vehicle for presenting some interesting items of Walpoliana, of which the most important is, on pages 3-51 of Volume XIII, a text with extremely generous annotations of Walpole's "Short Notes" of his life, newly printed from the original manuscript, now in Mr. Lewis's possession. In earlier printings of this document, including that in Mrs. Toynbee's first volume, a number of sentences, amounting to about ten per cent of the whole, were omitted, apparently because they dealt with rather intimate personal matters. Many of the restored passages, indicated by enclosing asterisks, are of considerable interest.

A detailed analytical index fills pages 261-315 of Volume XIV.

ROBERT K. ROOT

Princeton University

The Poems of William Habington. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by KENNETH ALLOTT. London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd. (The University Press of Liverpool), 1948. Pp. lxviii + 208. 15s.

In this new edition of William Habington's poems, Mr. Allott has produced a useful book for students of seventeenth century English literature. Since the first complete edition of *Castara* appeared, in 1640, four other editors have attempted to bring Habington to the attention of readers of poetry: Chalmers reprinted the 1640 edition in *The Works of the English Poets* (1810); Charles A. Elton reprinted it in 1812, with an introduction concerned more with Pope than with Habington; Southey included a reprint in *Select Works of the British Poets* (1831); and Edward Arber issued a faulty reprint with a brief introduction in 1870. Mr. Allott has carefully collated the editions of 1634, 1635, and 1640, using as a basis for his text the edition of 1640. His extensive introduction throws new light on Habington and his poetry, and the notes to individual poems offer an excellent commentary.

The first part of *Castara* (1634), a pale imitation of the conventional Petrarchan sonnet sequence, reveals the author as a prudish young man whose passions are less strong than his self-righteousness. The second part (1635) asserts his happiness in marriage but more clearly relates his grief at the death of his closest friend, George Talbot. The third part (1640), containing perhaps the best poetry Habington wrote, is concerned largely with religious subjects, for the author has now rejected love poetry for higher themes.

Throughout his poems, Habington borrows freely from Donne (even more freely, I believe, than Mr. Allott has discovered), and echoes Horace, Juvenal, Propertius, and Claudian. Despite his claim to be a "son of Ben," he is less indebted to Jonson than to Donne.

Since the text of *Castara* presents few serious problems, the editor is chiefly concerned with Habington, about whom little is known, and with the many persons named in dedications or in the poems themselves. Habington was a Catholic with a strong Puritan bias. His poems appeared during a time when restrictions against Catholics had been relaxed somewhat. In the Habington family, these restrictions had been felt heavily, for the poet's father, Thomas, had been implicated in Babington's Plot and the Gunpowder Plot. Hindlip Hall, the family residence in Worcester, was provided with secret hiding places for priests, two of whom were captured with two lay-brothers after a siege in January, 1606. Thomas Habington escaped with his life because of strong connections at court, but he was fined heavily and his property was confiscated. William

Habington was educated at St. Omer by the Jesuits and returned home to live among his Catholic family and friends. His poems naturally reflect Catholic beliefs and opinions and are addressed usually to people who shared his faith. In his notes, Mr. Allott has identified many of these people, most of whom are indicated in *Castara* only by initials.

Mr. Allott's edition of Habington is likely to remain the standard edition for a long time, for it is a product of sound scholarship, as nearly complete as careful research can make it.

HOMER C. COMBS

Washington University

Der italienische Humanismus. Von EUGENIO GARIN, Bern, A. Francke, 1947. Pp. 296.

There is undoubtedly room for a book which will set forth the historical development of Italian humanism and assess its achievement in the recovery of our knowledge of antiquity as compared with previous attempts in the Middle Ages. Such a book could evaluate the contribution of Italian humanism to the intellectual history of the Western world, which has been so much discussed (especially in this country) during recent years. And there is also room for an account of Italian humanism in its purely literary aspect, its literary production both in ancient languages and in the vernacular.

Dr. Garin's book is both wider and narrower in its scope. It is wider in its chronological limits, as it covers "the development of Italian thought" from the age of humanism down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and it is narrower because it does not aim to describe the recovery of ancient literature or the process of its investigation, with all the consequences in the realms of philology, literary criticism and historical knowledge in the widest sense, which may be considered the most valuable contribution made by the humanists to culture. Indeed, it apparently excludes some, or most of these things, as "purely grammatical discussions" of no interest (p. 74). Its professed subject is "Italian thought," including under this very general term pure philosophy (the book ends with a chapter on Bruno and Campanella), with special reference to certain problems connected with ethics, such as the relative value of the contemplative and the active life, and the duty of "civil life." To this end the book brings in a number of lesser known figures and discussions, with useful and suggestive quotations from unpublished MSS.

To some extent this book reflects the puzzlement of some Italian scholars who, after being subjected to the rigours of authoritarian-

ism in both State and Church, suddenly found themselves, after the war, in a free world. In a previous work, *Il rinascimento italiano*, published under the auspices of a Fascist institution (Milan, "Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale," 1941), Dr. Garin had made the Renaissance begin with Cola di Rienzo's attempt to revive Roman imperialism: the first section of the book (pp. 21-37) is entirely devoted to the Cola episode, and Petrarch comes in as his admirer and disciple who abandons his former republican ideals for the sake of "romanità." But in a later article, published this time under the pious auspices of the neo-Catholic Giovanni Papini, Dr. Garin made the discovery that the Renaissance was essentially religious and Christian.¹ Now, in 1947, Dr. Garin finds that humanism has a "social character" (p. 13) and is interested in "civil life" (*bürgerisches Leben*): so the book begins with Petrarch as a moral teacher, while Cola di Rienzo is reduced to a brief and unfavourable mention on page 14: no reference is made to the Roman Empire, and Cola's aim becomes the "*renovatio*" der "*sacra Italia*." It is admitted that Petrarch admired Caesar, but only as a model of "vollendete Menschlichkeit" (*ibidem*).

The book was translated into German "nach dem Manuscript" by Dr. Giuseppe Zamboni.

NAPOLEONE ORSINI

Duke University

Essays in Retrospect. Collected Articles and Addresses. By CHAUNCEY BREWSTER TINKER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. Pp. iv + 161.

Set beside the careful "studies" of a lifetime, the articles and addresses Tinker has collected as *Essays in Retrospect* are occasional and seemingly casual. Yet "to conceive of his opinions as casual is to forget his scholarship and his long experience with literature as a force in men's lives." These are Tinker's own words about Johnson, and they must be any reader's about Tinker. Whether in essays such as these, or speech across the lunch table or the hearthrug, all that is said or written by the man is vital and has the truth of vitality nourished on learning and both refreshed and tested by a long experience of the arts as a force in men's lives. Here we have the scholar working as teacher, the critic showing as guide and counsellor. Here are wit and wisdom; here the shared delight in bringing ideas and attitudes out of the past into the present that they may foster man's humanity and charity in the future.

¹ "Il Rinascimento non solo non fu pagano, ma fu anche, nella massima parte, profondamente e sinceramente cristiano": see his article, *Giovanni Gentile interprete del Rinascimento*, in *La Rinascita*, Vol. VII, No. 35, January-June 1944, p. 69.

However benefitted by those other disciplines of learning, scholarship, and criticism, this is the book of Chauncey B. Tinker. In it the contemporary and colloquial jostle the literary and the well-tried. Thucydides and Fanny Burney, Pepys and Horace, Thermopylae and the Boston and Maine Railroad, the Ospedale del Ceppo at Pistoja and a dentist's assistant, suggest the scope, indicate the variety. The foolishness of Trollope, the sillinesses of the Preraphaelites, the weakness of Housman in not actually destroying the poems he held from publication are foils and balance for a radiant love of human beings, a love of color and line and passion in the age of brick and gas, a unique power to stab the heart with the sudden and unforgettable word. Nurses are addressed on The Seven Works of Mercy, corporal and spiritual, graduates of the School of Fine Arts on craftsmanship in the service of the spirit. The origin of all things, in art and biology, is reviewed for the solution of the problem that every man is to himself. Since all this matters, since perhaps this is all that matters, always as he speaks or writes Tinker is enjoying himself. Is not that the secret of his art as teacher? Was it not thus that he rose, is it not so that he persists in the minds of all?

So it seems, not least because every sentence in this book carries the accent and the intonation of a personality.

B. H. LEHMAN

University of California, Berkeley

French Precursors of the Chanson de Roland. By MARIO PEI.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. xiv + 105.

In the Introduction to his work, Professor Pei states that many scholars interested in the origin of the OF epic have disregarded the important rôle played by the earlier religious poetry, and that no scholar has offered "systematically arranged" evidence of the influence of this poetry on the creation of the epic. It is, accordingly, his intention to establish a (syntactical, lexical, stylistic, literary, philosophical) comparison between the *Eulalie*, *Léger*, *Passion*, *Alexis*, on the one hand, and the *Roland* on the other, in order to "prove the existence of a literary current capable of turning from a purely religious into a religious-epic channel. . . ." Moreover, in the text of his work, he seeks to show, by means of statistics, that the same stylistic (etc.) features present in the first religious works increase in frequency, from poem to poem, to reach their fullest expansion in the *Roland*. Thus his 'literary current' is envisaged as an all-powerful force which, gaining momentum in the course of more than two centuries, passing from one 'channel' to another, finally produces the crest-wave of the *Roland*.

What is the nature of this dynamic current? There are a few features that might, perhaps, be termed 'philosophical' ("Wealth and Earthly Honors," "Virginity and Chastity" etc.), which are sometimes curiously interpreted (we are told that in *Al.* "poverty is blamed" [p. 74]; but it is blamed by Eufemien, consistently purblind to spiritual values!), and which are noted in a call-the-roll fashion; moreover, along with such concepts we find in the same chapter (iv) such miscellaneous themes as "Outward Manifestations of Grief," "Sea Voyage," "The Assumption," "Entrusting of Objects," "Arrival on Death Scene." The first three chapters, though less incoherent, may prove equally disappointing to anyone interested in the literary origins of the epic: Chapter I ("Versification") contains some 40 lines of text, with more than 30 lines of bibliographical references; Chapter II lists almost 50 [types of] expressions found in the *Roland* which are also attested earlier; we learn that *jusque, par nulle guise, prendre congé, morz est, c'est merveille* appear in both *Al.* and *Rol.* (to say nothing of *e! gentils hom*, which fact represents to Pei a "striking similarity" [p. 19]); we are also told that while 'transition from day to night' is mentioned in both epic and religious poetry, it is only in epic poetry that we also find 'transition from night to day.' In Chapter III there are listed examples of 13 stylistic and literary devices, from chiasm and apposition to scene-shifting.

It is to be debated whether or not a 'literary current' can ever explain what is most important about any given work of art; but I should say that, in the accumulation of features here offered us, we feel the movement of *no* current, only the presence of a mass of unrelated details—as inert as the stones with which a cathedral may (or may not) be built. Surely, before the *Roland*, the French language existed, and had served as the medium of narrative poetry. But to elaborate a *sine qua non* is not to offer an explanation.

Thus I am unable to see what Professor Pei's statistics serve to prove about the *Roland*. As for the accuracy of the statistics in themselves, I may say only that I have checked on two points which seemed immediately questionable to me—with the following results:

p. 11 Pei states that the type 'when he sees [hears] . . .' is lacking in *Pass.* and *Leg.* (and *Eul.*). To the contrary, there are at least 8 examples in each: *Pass.* 33, 49-50, 77, 123, 133, 209, 241, 397; and *Leg.* 42, 85, 90, 149, 187, 189, 205, 217. This rather surprising discrepancy is to be explained by the fact that Pei overlooked the conjunction *cum*—which in the earlier language was much more frequent than *quand*.

p. 15 We are told that *Al.* contains no similes. Actually, there are at least 3 (143, 149, 423—and perhaps 321). Similarly Pei has miscounted the similes in *Pass.* He notes only 2 (395-6, 475-6); I have found 5 (including 127-8, 156, 163). This discrepancy I am unable to explain.

ANNA GRANVILLE HATCHER

The Johns Hopkins University

The Unsentimental Journey of Laurence Sterne. By ERNEST NEVIN DILWORTH. New York: King's Crown Press, 1948. Pp. xiv + 115. \$2.25.

An argument concerning whether or not Sterne is sentimental may seem perilously like the well-worn one about Hamlet's madness. An ultimate equivocation is hardly to be resolved by anything short of a straddling answer. But Mr. Dilworth in his vigorous and entertaining essay has not straddled. He has argued ably, and he has used admirable logical and critical powers to prove that Sterne was a jester first, last, and always and that he has been regarded as "prince of sentimentalists" only through perverse misapprehension of his purpose.

The method of the book is so sound that the thesis *ought* to win immediately acceptance. The author has struggled honestly and intelligently with definition, and he has examined with care and insight the passages in *Tristram Shandy* and *A Sentimental Journey* that have long been regarded as the *loci classici* of Sterne's sentimentalism. He has, moreover, sought to bring the biography of Sterne and the sermons, journals, and letters to bear on the main argument. Point by point the argument seems convincing. As an antidote to extremists who harp on Sterne's "lacrymose divagations," it is of real value. But difficulties arise with the argument as a whole; and if it is not finally successful, the reason is that it implies an oversimplification of a complex problem.

It is demonstrable that Sterne persistently parodied and satirized "the sentimental fashion of his day," but one must also account for the part that he played in setting that fashion. Moreover, one must not forget, as Mr. Dilworth apparently does, that Sterne could delight in the very things he ridiculed and that the kindliness of his satire often transmutes it into something tantalizingly *like* sentimentality—if not, indeed, into the real article. In short, one may still ask whether the jester must inevitably be divorced from the "man of feeling." Furthermore, one would like some answer to recent defenders of Sterne's seriousness of purpose like Mr. Herbert Read and Mr. W. B. C. Watkins, critics whom Mr. Dilworth most regrettably shows no signs of having read. (Since German critics were not neglected, it is also regrettable that Rudolf Maack's pertinent study was not considered.)

At one point the author poses the question, "Was Sterne deeply moved by nothing?" His evasion of an answer is easier than it is fair. The final summation that "to Sterne everything is words" does not meet all the issues. Once again logic has failed to explain an elusive genius.

LODWICK HARTLEY

North Carolina State College

This Great Stage. Image and Structure in King Lear. By ROBERT B. HEILMAN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. Pp. xi + 339. \$3.50.

After presenting thirty-eight pages of prolegomena on the methods and merits of the "new criticism," Professor Heilman collects from the text of *King Lear* recurrent words and images in an attempt to demonstrate the existence, architectonic, and meaning of a clothes pattern, a sight pattern, a madness pattern, a nature pattern, an animal pattern, and the like. His purpose is to display the tragedy as a seamless fabric, harmonious as art and weatherproof as philosophy.

The author's own ethical and religious position is one toward which many of us feel loyalty, and his sincerity as a critic is beyond question, but when he writes, p. 179, that

The clothes, nature, animal, age, and justice patterns present the complex world that is to be understood; the sight and madness patterns (of which the values pattern is an auxiliary) are concerned with the process and method of understanding and coming to terms with that complex world,

and goes on in this way for hundreds of pages, the effect is precisely the effect of some very "old criticism" produced by scholiasts poring over texts in order to delimit protasis, epitasis, catatasis, and catastrophe. *King Lear* alters before our eyes from a beautiful and moving play into a treatise written in code, and pretty much of a bore. When Lear, suffering and about to die, humbly asks and gratefully acknowledges a small service, we are indeed taken into the "heart of the tragedy."

Pray you undo this button. Thank you, sir.

Who now can smugly rejoice that the old man has achieved humility, has soldered up his "flaw"? Professor Heilman, p. 83, cannot dwell on the *Pray you* and *Trank you, sir* (mere pathos) because he has established a clothes pattern, buttons are an appurtenance of clothes, and he must keep his eye on the button:

Lear makes his last command, a very mild one, yet it takes us into the heart of the tragedy. For his words take us back to the *divest* of Act I, when he was preparing casually for retirement, for ease before the final sleep; to the frantic *unbutton here* of Act III, when he was attempting to make physical fact conform to the spiritual unprotectedness which he had brought about by his earlier disrobing; and to the *pull off my boots* of Act IV, when the fiercest travel in the hard world was over; and they tell us of a final freeing from clothes that can be followed by no new agony.

Whether or not this is neat, neatly it destroys the play, reducing its mountains to molehills.

The new critics are men in search of a faith turning to poetry as their sacred writ. Only their co-religionists can discuss their work wholly without embarrassment. The reviewer could point to numerous instances in which Professor Heilman seems inadequately aware of the malleable quality of Elizabethan English and of

Shakespeare's resourcefullness in using it, but such comment would be pointless. Although the author honestly believes that his explication grows out of the language of the play, actually it does not. *This Great Stage* is an expression of faith, and perhaps should be judged purely on the basis of its piety of intention as perceived by kindred spirits.

ALFRED HARBAGE

Columbia University

BRIEF MENTION

History of Early Russian Literature. By N. K. GUDZY, tr. by SUSAN WILBUR JONES. Introduction by GLEB STRUVE. New York: Macmillan, 1949. Pp. xxii + 545. \$10.00. This is one of the books selected for translation by an A.C.L.S. committee in order to "provide an insight into Russian life and thought." It is a survey by a specialist of his country's literature from its beginnings in the eleventh century to the end of the seventeenth. He points out the extensive influence of Byzantium, of the Russian church, and, after the collapse of the civilization that developed around Kiev, of the Moscow autocracy with its effort towards unity and towards making of the city the "third Rome." Stress is, of course, laid on the *Tale of Igor's Expedition*, of which the recent translation and study by Grégoire, Jakobson, and others (cf. *MLN.*, LXIII, 502-3) might have been mentioned by Miss Jones. Other high points are the correspondence between Ivan the Terrible and Prince Kurbksy, the writings of the passionate Archpriest Avvakum, the *Life of Juliania Lazarevskaya*, the heroine of which was so holy that she put hazelnut shells in her shoes and refrained from bathing, and the amusing tale of *Karp Sutolov and His Prudent Wife*. The translator has followed the author even when he relates, for the instruction of his Russian readers, the story of Solomon's judgment, or when he remarks (p. 248) that Shem was "one of the son's of Noah," or when he makes no comment on the alleged use of cannon against Kiev in 1240 (p. 210). The omission of the article in "became model" (p. 248) is Russian, not English. "Carthagena" for "Carthage" (p. 228) is due to the translator's misunderstanding of the Russian name for the city. She has produced, however, a readable book, one that will enlighten many. The frankness of Professor Godzy, who makes no effort to conceal the poverty of Russian literature before 1700, in comparison with that of western Europe, is impressive. I wonder whether his freedom to speak his mind is made possible by the fact that the "Marxist-Leninist study of early Russian literature is as yet in the embryonic stage" (p. 21).

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Joseph Quincy Adams: Memorial Studies. Edited by J. G. McMANAWAY, G. E. DAWSON, and E. E. WILLOUGHBY. Washington, D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948. Pp. x + 808. \$10.00. Professor Adams' associates at the Folger Library have faithfully and devotedly memorialized him in this splendidly printed and immensely interesting volume. The table of contents is an impressive roster of all those who really count in the study of Renaissance literature, and the very fact that so many distinguished men could be persuaded to contribute is a fine testimonial to the esteem in which Professor Adams was held. As a consequence, this volume, unlike others of the same nature, is uniform in subject and is unmarred by the *disjecta membra* with which books of its type are usually cluttered. The fifty-odd papers, though varying widely in importance and prose style, provide the reader with a considerable amount of new information and with excellent examples of the various forms of research exercises now practised by students of Elizabethan letters. The book could easily be used as a text in a course in research methodology. From the prefatory bibliography, we also learn that Professor Adams wrote upward of fifty papers himself and that these papers now are scattered through a variety of journals; we can hope that the editors of this volume are now engaged in bringing them together in one volume. This would be a final service to a great master.

D. C. A.

Seven Satires (1598). By WILLIAM RANKINS. Edited by A. DAVENPORT. Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1948. Pp. ix + 57. 3/6. This inexpensive but careful reprint of a little-known work is the first of a series of editions of Elizabethan satirists being put out by the University of Liverpool Press. Though Rankins as a poet may be classified as generally competent but seldom exciting, his seven satires have an interesting organization around the days of the week: Monday is devoted to fickle persons born under the influence of the moon, Tuesday to the belligerent braggarts influenced by Mars, etc. Besides the seven satires, which give the book its title, the volume contains several mildly intellectualized religious poems and a social satire, "Satyrus Peregrinus," which attacks, after the usual fashion, the sharp business practices and the social ambitions of the middle class. Anyone interested in Elizabethan satire should find the book useful. Even those cautious persons who may be unwilling to go so far as Mr. Davenport in seeing in the *Seven Satires* a link between the usual

Juvenalian satire of Hall or Marston and the satire of humors of Jonson can still be grateful for the painstaking work which has made possible this attractive edition.

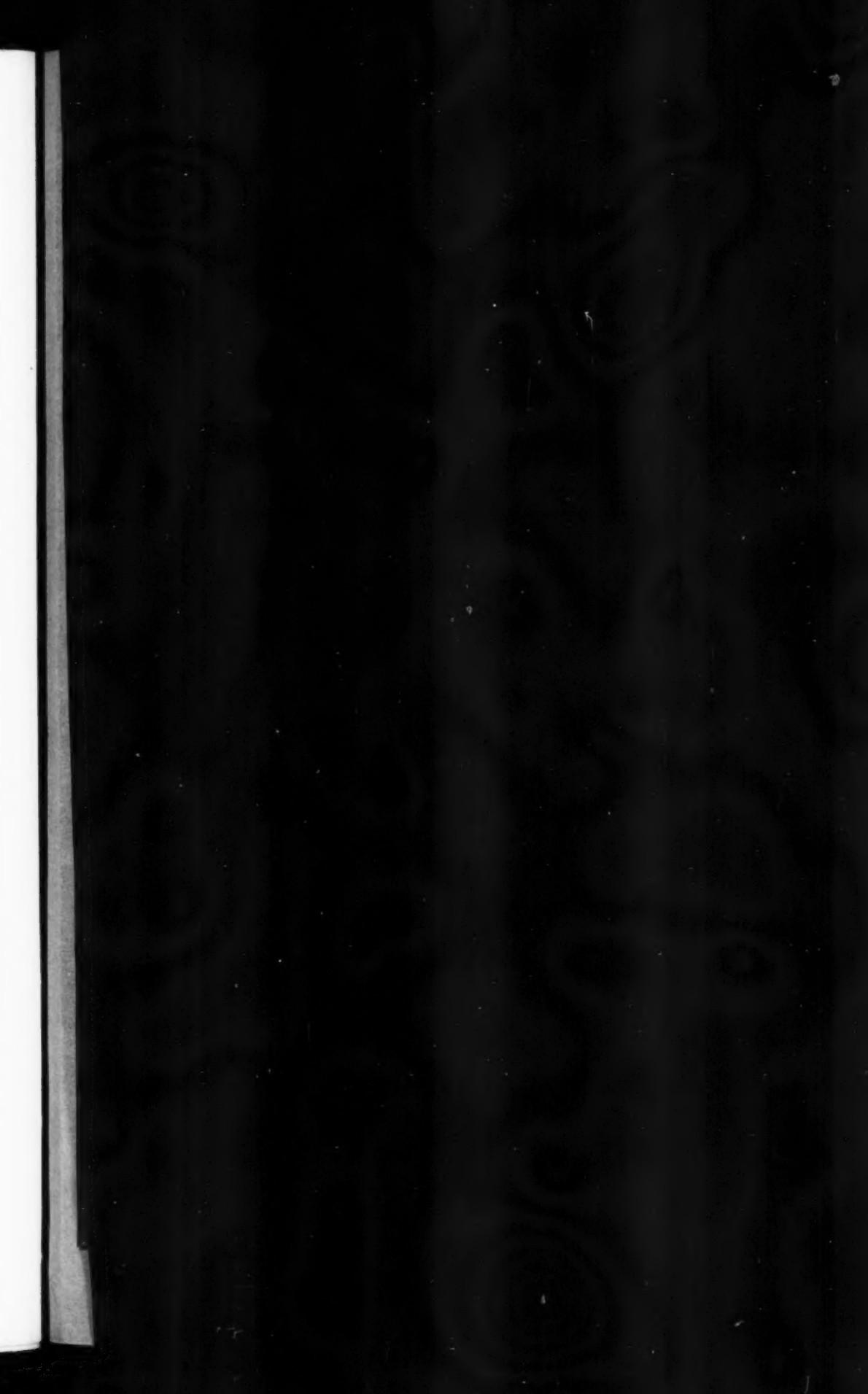
AUDREY CHEW

Mills College

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Comparative Literature. MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES extends its cordial greetings to *Comparative Literature*, a quarterly journal published at the University of Oregon under the editorship of Professor Chandler B. Beall. Professor W. P. Friederich is associate editor. The first number contains articles by Professors Wellek, Curtius, Baldensperger, and other scholars. Contributors and subscribers should address University of Oregon Publications, Eugene, Ore. Subscription for a year is \$3.50.—THE EDITORS.

New Complete English-Russian Dictionary by LOUIS SEGAL. New York: Hafner, 1948. Pp. xviii + 1111. If not complete in the sense of the Oxford, this is a remarkably ample dictionary, including technical terms (spark-plug, pancake-landing) and a number of proper nouns (Arkansas, pronounced in European fashion **Арканзас**). It will be most helpful to the many students who would write and speak the Russian language.—H. C. L.





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